





## PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4  
STAmford Hill 2262 (three lines)

28th November, 1952

### KOREA REMAINS THE VICTIM

AS we go to press it would seem that the attempt made by the Indian Government to bring peace to Korea has failed.

Mr. Vyshinsky did not wait to give Mr. Acheson his opportunity to throw cold water on the plan, but intervened earlier in the debate with an unqualified condemnation, taking his stand on the position as laid down on the question of prisoners of war in international agreements, which is with the Chinese and against the Americans.

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The Russian Government shows no more anxiety than the American Government to bring the long-drawn-out crucifixion of the Korean people to an end. Behind all the political posturing that has taken place round the question of the prisoners there lies the tragic fact of a people whose country has been destroyed as something incidental to the strategic manoeuvring of two great powers.

There is to be no mercy for them; they are to be given no sense of future security against destructive activities from outside, in which they may begin to try to build the conditions of tolerable living; they are to continue to exist in the dread that the two great powers that have torn their life to pieces will trample over their land again and spread renewed havoc over a country already destroyed.

In the speeches and counter-speeches that are made at the Assembly, the plight of the Korean people is not mentioned by either side; in all the negotiations that take place at various levels on whether the war can be brought to an end, the negotiators show no concern at the fate of the Korean people. They have other things to think about.

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If in the course of their negotiations either side could show a little compassion for the people who have had to suffer so greatly they might be surprised at the relief and gratitude that would be manifested throughout the world.

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Even as a propaganda sounding-board the United Nations is becoming discredited.

The grim fact of the continued deadlock in Korea after nearly a year and a half of parleying reveals the basic insincerity of both Mr. Vyshinsky and Mr. Acheson.

When these men get up to speak, we know that they will be striking an attitude and that their speeches will not be concerned with the welfare of the people of whom both claim to be the champions.

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On the issue of the prisoners of war, the Indian proposals would have made possible the reconciling of the claims of the Geneva Convention with the need for an investigation into what has been happening to the prisoners in American captivity.

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Both sides have made charges.

It is charged against the Americans that the process they call "screening" has largely consisted of methods of intimidation by which men have been forced to declare that they do not want to return to their native land.

Americans claim that the screening procedures were made necessary because men whose political views were at variance with those of the Communists in the PoW camps were being threatened, ill-treated, and in many cases murdered by those with whom they were confined.

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The Indian proposals would have provided an opportunity for an outside investigation of these two sets of charges. It has become evident that neither the American Government nor the Chinese and Russian Governments have any desire that the charges shall be investigated.

Korea therefore must continue to be a war-torn land.

### Rebuff to Adenauer

TOO much significance should not be attached to the defeat which Dr. Adenauer sustained recently in the Bundestag where his motion to set apart three days this week for debating the Bonn and Paris Treaties was rejected by 179 votes to 166.

Since the Federal Chancellor argued forcibly against any further delay the voting was a personal rebuff to him, but the adverse majority is accounted for by the fact that 104 members of the Free Democratic Party voted with the Opposition.

This party is the second strongest in the present coalition government, and there seems to be a possibility of a split in the Free Democratic Party, with this vote representing the rebellion of some of the party's representatives in the Bundestag.

It is, however, by no means certain that the rebels will oppose ratification when the critical debate takes place, which is now likely to be about the middle of December.

Nevertheless, if we should not exaggerate this rebuff, neither should we ignore it, for it does suggest that ratification by the Bundestag is not a foregone conclusion.

### Saar situation serious

Much the same might be said of the French Parliament, where the date for the ratification debate has not yet been fixed, but where events both in the Saar and in Indo-China are not without their effect. Indeed, the situation in the Saar might well provoke a political explosion in either Bonn or Paris.

The elections there take place next Sunday, and all Germans living in the Saar territory have been urged to boycott the elections because of the ban on any candidates put up by the pro-German party.

The claim that the Saar is an integral part of Germany has again been officially made, and it is not likely that the West German Government will recognise the validity of any government which results from the Saar elections on November 30.

All of which must increase French misgivings as to the possible consequences of rearming Western Germany, or, for that matter, allowing even a limited army to a unified Germany.

### The peaceful solution

We are more than ever convinced that the peaceful solution of the German problem lies along the lines of the neutralisation and permanent disarmament of a united Germany.

The arguments against the rearmament of Western or Eastern Germany apply very largely also to even a limited army for a united Germany. To increase the amount of armaments in Europe still further is to render the work of the Disarmament Commission virtually hopeless.

To ask Germany to lead the way to universal disarmament by accepting perma-

## BEHIND THE NEWS

nent disarmament herself would be to give the Commission fresh impetus.

That is one reason why we regret the lack of any specific reference to permanent German disarmament in the resolutions of the recent Berlin conference. It is significant that a correspondent in Berlin writes to say "It is amazing what an amount of zeal and activity the East Berlin Communists are now using to explain this conference as a great victory for them—a battle won on the peace front. The Communist propaganda machine is in full swing."

### Dangerous Dulles —

WHEN President Truman decided in April 1950 to emphasise the bi-partisan nature of American foreign policy by appointing a Republican consultant to the Secretary of State, he chose John Foster Dulles as being the leading Republican exponent in foreign affairs.

It was therefore to be expected that a Republican victory in the presidential election would lead to the appointment of Mr. Dulles, not as consultant but as the successor to Dean Acheson.

But that does not make us feel any happier about the appointment, nor are our misgivings lessened by the suggestion that all is well because Mr. Dulles is a fine old Christian gentleman of good Presbyterian stock and has held official position in the Presbyterian Church in America.

Though it should be sufficient to say that a man is a good Christian to prove that he is vitally concerned with expressing Christian principles in international affairs and that he can be trusted to oppose all war and to plan constructively for peace, that unfortunately cannot be taken for granted in America any more than in Britain.

Indeed, Mr. Dulles seems to follow the all too familiar pattern of those leaders of the Churches who, condemning war in theory, prepare for it in practice, who approve of policies which make war likely and will endorse the use of the atom bomb under certain circumstances.

Whatever he may be in his private life, in his public action and speeches Mr. Dulles has indicated all too often that he is a danger to peace.

It was he who as the architect of the Japanese Peace Treaty helped to drive it through without due consultation with the Soviet Union and without reference to

China, or proper opportunity for amendment. The result has been Japanese rearmament and a further increase in the tensions in the Pacific.

It was Mr. Dulles who in a broadcast discussion on February 10 this year said: "The United States must let all the Far East know that it would not stand idly by while any part of the world remained under the rule of either Communist or Fascist dictatorship. . . . The United States should stir up all possible trouble and inconvenience for the Communist regime in China, and should 'take the wraps' off the nationalist forces in Formosa."

### and Stassen

Our misgivings are not lessened by the announcement that General Eisenhower has also found a place in his Cabinet for Harold Stassen, who was one of the candidates for nomination as a Republican candidate in the presidential elections.

Mr. Stassen was recently reported to have said in Denver, Colorado, that if elected he would restore General MacArthur as U.S. commander in the Far East.

He wanted a new foreign policy involving "dynamic opposition" to Communism everywhere in the world.

It is suggested that General Eisenhower himself is against extending the war in Korea, though he seems to favour leaving the Koreans to fight it out amongst themselves. We can only hope that the responsibility of office may cause Mr. Dulles and Mr. Stassen to have second thoughts, or that the new President will be able to control his Cabinet.

If they persist in their stated policy it is goodbye to any hope of peace in Korea, and if the foreign policy of the new Cabinet is to be based upon the liberation of all under Communist domination anywhere, nothing can avert the third world war.

That Britain has at last taken a definite stand in the negotiations for a Korean armistice—prompting talk of an open split with America—gives hope that we are not prepared to sacrifice a chance of peace there, or of averting a third world war, for the sake of avoiding the risk of offending America.

These appointments made by General Eisenhower indicate how vital it is for Britain to pursue an independent foreign policy and to be prepared in advance to prevent the implementing of such disastrous utterances.

### The Hill

THERE is something about the present phase of the Korean war which is similar to the years of stalemate in France during the first world war when two or three yards of ground would be gained or lost at the cost of thousands of lives.

There is the difference however that the lives sacrificed now are lost during the conduct of truce talks.

On Saturday last the Press carried a tale of the gallantry of the 1st Battalion of the Black Watch, who were attacked while on a "gaunt muddy hillside." The Chinese artillery barrage was so heavy that the contours of the hill were entirely changed. The Colonel's answer to repeated calls for re-inforcement and aid was: "Hold on at all costs. Stick it out."

So they stuck it out at "all costs", but according to the Daily Telegraph correspondent the earth has been so churned up that it is no longer possible to camp on it; it is scattered with bodies and severed limbs, with equipment, fragments of guns and hand grenades half buried in the red earth. "It was a grim sight," he says.

And surely a grim deed. Truce talks and negotiations for an armistice are in progress, and however protracted, therein lies the hope for a settlement. These means to the capture, or loss of a hill at such a time, and at such a cost are so wanton in their throwing away of decent men's lives as to be obscene in their callous inhumanity.

Each man who died in this useless defence of a useless hill has some, perhaps many, dear to him who are stricken with grief to-day. They have a right to ask: "For what purpose?"

### Christian principles and race problems

THIS year's Burge Memorial Lecture was a dreadful portent.

Through these lectures it is sought "to promote a better and wider understanding of the international obligations of Christian peoples." It was therefore a good idea to arrange for a lecture on Race Problems in South Africa by a distinguished Afrikaaner.

It was perhaps a pity that a Professor of Classics should have been selected for the purpose, for while Professor Haarhoff's address was generously studded with cultural ornamentation (even the limerick on the young lady of Riga was presented in Latin) this was no very satisfying substitute for the illumination we might have hoped for on racial issues.

We do not think it unjust to say that Professor Haarhoff regards the racial issue as between the Afrikaans-speaking and the English-speaking sections of the South African community as of primary importance; in any case he gave this matter the first place in his lecture.

He gave no indication that there was any realisation among white South Africans of the character of the upsurge to

(Continued on back page, col. one)

## DUAL STANDARDS IN SOUTH AFRICA

By O. CALDECOTT

SOUTH AFRICA'S apologists are apt to point out in defence of the Union, or in mitigation of her racial excesses, that there are many other countries where the Rights of Man are not fully achieved and where the denial of democratic rights is a feature of government.

And they add that, in the light of Soviet tyranny, the Southern States of the USA and Kenya, South Africa has a fine record of social welfare work, of selfless encouragement to Native aspirations and of educational opportunities for the people of colour.

This argument not only persuades South Africans that, since they are not as bad as some, they have no cause to heed "unfriendly" strictures, but it also induces in liberal critics overseas a feeling that the world is being unnecessarily beastly to South Africa. It is necessary to clear this matter up.

Those social orders which in the past have, in the words of Professor Laski, failed "to recognise the claims of personality" have either collapsed or survived only by the exercise of the grossest oppression.

There have been and there are many such, and each and every one of them has forfeited its claim to moral authority and the allegiance of its citizens—the ancien régime in France, the Tsarist regime, Chiang-kai-Shek's government and the British rule in India.

In condemning South Africa's failure to accord just and equal rights—or at least the possibility of such rights in the foreseeable future—we in no way excuse or condone present or past oppression, on either side of the Iron Curtain.

There may have been other societies in which poverty, bad housing, racial separation and illiberalism have prevailed but they all succumbed when their members recognised that the claim of men to equality of status as human beings had hope of being recognised. It is because the Non-European has realised this to be true of South Africa that he is now groping his way towards the formulation of a revolutionary aim and a revolutionary method.

And it is no good at all arguing that collectively and individually white South

Africa gives much to the Non-European through welfare bodies, charities and missionaries and that the Non-European should be grateful, respectful and appreciative because the White master has been kind to him.

To argue this and to expect this is to accept the dual standards underlying white South African thinking—which loses sight of the fact that it is inferior status, the denial of dignity, the implication of a different nature, needs and rights which gall and hurt the Non-European and pervert the Black-White relationship.

No matter how kind the individuals with White skins, no matter how "understanding," the failure of White South Africa, even at its best, to concede that Non-Europeans are entitled to claim the same rights as Europeans—the vote, social security, freedom to move and settle and own property—this failure is at the root of the matter and is the over-riding indecency of the colour bar society, whether it be in South, East, Central Africa or the Southern states of America.

Organised charity and individual kindness can at best palliate in a basically unjust society.

### Outspoken Dutch Minister

Although I have not seen a copy of it, "De Kleur-Krisis en die Weste" ("The Colour Crisis and the West") by Dr. Ben Marais has, apparently, made a considerable impact in South Africa where it is rare to find a Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church expounding critical views on segregation policies.

Dr. Marais, whilst finally urging the solution of total separation and the creation of separate states, has some profound things to say about present policies, which, of course, are far less moral even than such total apartheid would be.

"We Whites," he writes, "are a small island in a great sea. Our danger does not consist only in intermixture but also in the fact that, to maintain ourselves we may try in an unworthy, selfish and unchristian manner to hold the Non-European under and, in our own interest, make permanent his inferior position by depriving him or withholding from him rights to which he is entitled. In the long run this cannot be sustained. A people that does this digs its own grave."

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A new venture in India

# A FELLOWSHIP OF FRIENDS OF TRUTH

By Horace Alexander

The writer is at the Quaker Centre in Delhi where he is supervising the work of British and American Friends in India and Pakistan. The Centre in Delhi is dedicated to the promotion of international and religious understanding and the furthering of social and educational work.

Before leaving England Horace Alexander drew attention to Gandhi's wish so to win the confidence of the people of Pakistan that the frontier between them and India should cease to exist.

THREE years ago there was launched in India a new inter-religious fellowship under the name of "Fellowship of Friends of Truth." This was the culmination of developments that had been at work for a number of years, arising chiefly from the close association of a number of western Quakers with Mahatma Gandhi and his friends.

Everyone knows that India, which is pre-eminently the land of religion and of religious tolerance has in the past generation been torn by religious conflict, or at least by conflict that is alleged to be religious; a conflict primarily, though not exclusively, between Hindus and Mussalmans.

Gandhi, though himself a devout Hindu, spent his life fighting against this spirit of intolerance. At the end he gave his life for the cause of religious peace. In the months of communal madness following the partition of India in 1947, he insisted that India must protect her Muslim minority and must treat them as fully trusted citizens, whatever might happen to religious minorities in Pakistan. Finally, an angry Hindu shot him dead.

It was a year before his death that I had ventured to speak to Gandhi about the possibility of some fresh inter-religious fellowship uniting those who found themselves at one both in work for human welfare and in prayer; I also suggested that Quakers might help in such a move. Gandhi liked the idea but nothing came of it immediately. After his death however this conversation was recalled, and it seemed to give the final impetus that was needed to take a definite step forward.

For many years Quakers from both England and America had found themselves drawn increasingly to heart-unity with Mahatma Gandhi. English Quakers had declared themselves openly for Indian freedom; but beyond that and at a deeper level, there was an increasing sense that Gandhi, in his complete faith in the power of truth and "non-violence" and his repudiation of the use of physical force was giving a new content to the whole conception of "pacifism." We found that we had much to learn from him. His prophetic life shows not a few parallels to the life of George Fox.

## CATCHING THE EYE

WE are now entering the last lap of our race to reach our aim by the end of the year and perhaps that is why the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund has slowed down a little after the splendid burst of speed previously.

I am sure it has only been a slowing down to take breath, so that we can quicken the pace again, because we still have to raise £40 by December 31. £10 a week—or we shall lose those two individual gifts of £100 promised on condition that we reach £800 by the end of the year.

I still want five donations of £1 each by the end of November, so that we can claim the bonus of the extra £1. One friend suggested that many members cannot afford £10, but perhaps three could give £3 each and a fourth £1 and thus make up £10. Another form of group activity! I know that many readers of Peace News cannot afford to send more than a shilling or two, and of course any gifts are most welcome—pounds, shillings or pence.

But I remember that this time last year we were tremendously encouraged by an unexpected and very substantial gift from a friend who found he could afford it, and I cannot help hoping that this may catch the eye of someone this year who could and will send us £100 as a Christmas present, and help us to beat even last year's record.

In any case, I know you will all do your best and send something.

STUART MORRIS,  
General Secretary.

Amount received to date £760  
Our aim for 1952 £1,000  
Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

colleagues are not those who formulate identical philosophies or ideologies; our words sound different perhaps but we discover that we are one. And it is the most exciting discovery that can happen to any man or woman in the world.

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I HAVE written principally of two streams of thought and action: the Gandhi stream and the Quaker stream; but other streams have been flowing into the same river of life. There is the great influence of many of the Christian Colleges of India, helping to infuse much Christian thought into current Indian life. There is the mighty influence of Rabindranath Tagore through his poetry, his courageous semi-political essays and his educational work in Santiniketan. There is the life of Charles Freer Andrews, whose autobiography, "What I Owe to Christ," might well be read again and pondered by those who think perhaps some of us are forgetting Christ when we enter into heart-fellowship with men of other faiths.

Of course, this particular fellowship is not the first of its kind. The new fellowship is distinctive in that it encourages specifically three things; first the practice of corporate unprogrammed worship or meditation; secondly common action for peace and social justice; thirdly the fullest possible acceptance of the life of non-violence and of reliance on truth and "soul-force" as the mightiest weapons in the fight against injustice, oppression and all other evils.

Not many more than a hundred have actually enrolled themselves as members of the fellowship; the numbers have not shown any rapid increase. Yet it is significant, perhaps, that this hundred includes men and women in every continent and adherents of all the chief faiths of mankind—Christian, Muslim, Jew, Hindu, Buddhist, Sikh and also some who would probably call themselves agnostic, or who are not open adherents of any faith.

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GROWTH in the membership of this fellowship is not perhaps of the first importance. In India itself some of those who are outstanding witnesses to the truth the fellowship tries to incorporate have not joined it. There is even the danger, human frailty being what it is, that it might become an end in itself, a rival to other groups, another sect for the abolition of sects. But the essential spirit of the fellowship is the thing that matters. In effect the members declare:

"Your ecclesiastical divisions, your accepted divisions of men into water-tight religious compartments, your insistence that all truth is with one inheritance rather than another: this does not reflect the truth that is God. It may even be a blasphemy against God and against Christ. The saints of every faith are children of God, yes, even true followers of Christ, though they may not be aware of it."

In the words of William Penn:

"The humble, meek, merciful, just, pious and devout souls are everywhere of one religion; and when death has taken off the mask, they will know one another though the divers liveries they wear here makes them strangers."

And this great truth which Penn had learnt—in part, no doubt, from his friendship with the Red Indians in North America—we too, in our generation, are being privileged to learn again "experimentally"; and when we have had this experience we must be faithful to it in whatever way we can. Week by week, here in Delhi, I worship in silent communion with men of several faiths. It is a most enriching and humbling experience.

## The Queen's Shilling now £16

From a correspondent

HOW much does each recruit to the British Forces cost the taxpayer in advertising?

The advertisements appearing in the big circulation newspapers and weeklies may cost anything up to £400 for one insertion in one publication.

In Australia, according to a Reuter message, for every one of the 13,813 recruits secured for the Navy, Army and Air Force during a period of six months, the Australian Government paid £16 in advertisements.

Perhaps one of our MP's would put the question in the House.

# They made a bonfire of strait-jackets

By ELLEN STARR BRINTON

TEN years ago mental hospitals in the United States were places of horror.

Patients were largely considered hopelessly afflicted, and the usual treatment was to confine them either in locked rooms or by straitjackets so that they could do no harm to themselves or others.

Treatments for restorative purposes were few. Recovery was so rare that discharges were practically unheard of. With almost no turnover in patients, the number of inmates tended to grow constantly, and all mental hospitals became increasingly overcrowded.

A few progressive medical specialists took the view that more room might be secured by curing patients and sending them back home to normal life, but the general public was uninformed, and uninterested.

Then the United States plunged headlong into World War II. Men were conscripted and women were coaxed into all kinds of military service, but especially into better paying jobs in "defence industries."

Institutions of all kinds for the young, the aged, the poor, the infirm, the insane, were drained of man and woman power.

There was a group of men and some women who would have nothing to do with the war or any kind of military service.

Governmental authorities struggled with the problem created by these conscientious objectors and the provision made in the Selective Service Act of 1940 exempting those with religious objection from military service but requiring them to do other work of "national importance."

Officials in charge consulted with leaders in social work and church organizations, and after considerable turmoil set up a series of Civilian Public Service Camps for these conscientious objectors. Some twelve thousand men passed through those camps during World War II, with about eight thousand other CO's, many serving prison terms.

## Appeal to Washington

Intentionally these CPS work camps were located mostly in public parks or national forests. Distance gave less chance for the COs to get publicity for their beliefs in peace and non-violence.

The only kind of work at first considered for them was agricultural such as clearing forests, planting trees, and building flood dams. Country boys approved the plan and were comparatively happy, but there was a great proportion of men with technical background, highly trained specialists with a wide range of valuable gifts, intellectuals who felt that pacifism should be actively applied.

Appeals went to the heads of departments in Washington responsible for the draft, from conscientious objectors, for work more meaningful than what they termed "raking leaves in the forests," and from institutions for men and women to help fill staff vacancies and care for neglected and suffering inmates.

There was one successful experiment already on record. A Catholic hospital in Chicago had been using CO's as ward attendants with great satisfaction to both patients and the medical staff.

Officials had sympathy with both appeals, and agreed that a selected group of CO's might be detailed to a mental hospital. Their probation was entirely satisfactory. Superintendents were desperate to find help, and soon a continuous process was devised of recruiting volunteers from work camps for other hospitals.

The result has been nothing less than revolutionary in the care of mental patients in public institutions.

The needs and conditions faced in the hospitals by the new CO personnel were vividly and accurately portrayed in the New York daily newspaper PM, and in the weekly magazine Life for May 6, 1946, largely as a result of information and pictures supplied by conscientious objectors who had been working in the institutions for three years.

## Unafraid of reprisals

Although the CO's were inexperienced and untrained in the care of mental patients they brought a new insight into their work and created a higher standard of care in every institution where they were placed.

But, more conspicuous, was the fact that here for the first time in a hundred years were persons working on the wards in daily contact with the patients, unafraid of reprisal by their political employers since their assignments were temporary, and whose interest in staying on the job was to do something for the patients, not that of persons who found this the best employment they could secure.

The general improvement was so marked that on November 12, 1951, Life came out with another long illustrated article by the same author who had written the previous story in 1946. This touched entirely on the new methods of caring for the mentally ill.

Much credit is given the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers) for instituting and continuing a programme for volunteers' hospitals, but actually other pacifist units were organised and directed by committees from Methodists, Church of the Brethren, Mennonites, and Seventh Day Adventists.

In all cases the programme called for developing a technique for handling and caring for persons of all ages and types, in a kindly and sympathetic manner, without ever resorting to brutality or violence.

When World War II ended, hundreds of conscientious objectors serving in civilian work under governmental control went home. But the revolution introduced under their influence left a permanent impression.

A number of men went into the medical or teaching fields, continuing their interest in mental work. The directing committee was able to obtain financial aid, and to enlist the interest of some nationally known leaders.

It started a Foundation which has since merged with other groups into The National Association for Mental Health. The paper, *The Psychiatric Aid*, continues. Handbooks and special literature have been issued. Perhaps the most spectacular reform was in Minnesota where on Halloween night 1949, the Governor, assisted by a former CPS man symbolised a new approach to the care of the mentally ill by publicly applying a torch to a heap of straps, mittens, and straitjackets.

The American Friends Service Committee, as part of its peace programme, continues to interest college-age young people in a non-violent approach to public matters, and carries a year-round programme for volunteers for work in mental institutions, with arranged pay, directed activities, and a formal training. The lead taken by CO's during World War II will be followed in the years to come.

# THE FATUITY OF WAR

By Alex Comfort

Must Man Wage War?, by Prof. F. A. E. Crew. Thrift Books, 1s. 6d.

IT is remarkable that the fatuity of war, as a psycho-pathological, biological, or sociological phenomenon, or even as a means to political victory, should require demonstration.

It does, and Professor Crew performs the demonstration with restraint and good sense.

Some of the older idiocies—that war is biologically necessary, that it is justifiable as a means of selecting the fit, that it is a check on overpopulation—are still current. After reading Professor Crew, familiar though his arguments may be, there is only one conclusion—we must renounce war, or it will destroy humanity. So far, so good. That being so, it is hard to see why Professor Crew has to preface his argument with a foreword which destroys it.

"I cannot possibly assume," he writes, "that those who are our political leaders are wrong . . . I must unhesitatingly place my trust in those whose responsibility it is to lead."

Why? Only the page before he writes: "Reason does not eliminate the lust for power . . . the world (is) filled with the raucous voices of socially immature men who scream invective and display irritable sulkiness as they proudly regard themselves as the champions of the Right, or the Left."

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Yet it is these men who are always ready to assume the privilege of thinking for men, who, like Professor Crew, have a hundred times their intellect and their integrity. Power selects such men. It is only on their word that "possibly war has come to have a really new purpose." It has indeed, or rather a consequence, and that consequence is the annihilation of civilised life and thought. It can today have no other purpose and no other consequence, and Professor Crew himself proves as much in his very penetrating study. That he should feel such humility in the face of men like Churchill and Foster Dulles is both unfortunate and unjustified.

## IRENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS  
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1



## Asked in the House KOREA

November 12, 1952.

Mr. Emrys Hughes (Lab. Ayrshire S.) asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he has considered the memorandum circulated at the United Nations General Assembly by the South Korean delegation, in which it states its opposition to a truce, presses for the incorporation of all Korea under the regime of the S. Korean Government and asking for substantial aid from the United Nations to support an army of 2 million men for this purpose; and what instructions have been given to the United Kingdom delegate regarding discussion on this matter.

Mr. Nutting (Joint Under Secretary): The memorandum has not yet been received in London. As has repeatedly been made clear in the House, it remains the aim of Her Majesty's Government to secure an early and honourable armistice in accordance with the principles of the United Nations.

Mr. S. Silverman (Lab. Nelson and Colne): Surely the hon. Gentleman realises what an interesting light is thrown by this communication from the S. Korean Government and this disclosure of its real aims on the origin of this appalling war. Does it not increase the reasons for making a quick end to it, not merely by getting an armistice, but by getting a proper settlement of the whole matter?

Mr. Nutting: Whatever interpretation the hon. Gentleman places on this memorandum, there can be no doubt whatsoever that this aggression was started by Communist forces.

## RACE RELATIONS

House of Lords, November 18, 1952.

Lord Barnby asked Her Majesty's Government whether they can further clarify their attitude to the policy of the Government of the Union of South Africa in regard to race relations, and their own policy in the African Colonies in regard to this matter.

The Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations (the Marquess of Salisbury): It would not be wise or proper for me to comment upon the policy of another Member of the Commonwealth in a matter which is solely within its jurisdiction. I must therefore ask to be excused from answering the first part of the Question.

As regards the second part, Her Majesty's Government in the UK are at one with their predecessors in regarding as the aim of their policy the advancement of all communities without discrimination on grounds of race, colour or creed. Progress must, in our view, be based on partnership between the races, not on domination by any.

When, with our aid, each community has achieved a feeling of security in partnership, more rapid progress will be possible with our policy of helping the territory to attain self-government within the Commonwealth. It will take time, during which Her Majesty's Government must retain ultimate control. But the end we seek to achieve is in essence clear; it is not discriminatory.

## "Insults to Black children of God"

— Vicar

"WE must deplore the tragic situation in South Africa," says the Rev. Francis Noble, Vicar of St. Paul's, Crofton, Orpington, in his parish magazine, "This has developed because a country with a population of over 12 million people has for decades been run primarily in the interest of a minority (2½ million) of its citizens.

"It is an appalling thing that millions of people are denied adequate education and a chance to develop their powers and are regarded permanently as the menials of another race. Dominated by fear, Dr. Malan's Government has intensified the racialism of its predecessors and multiplied the injustices and insults to the Black and Coloured children of God."



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# CONCRETE PROPOSALS FOR DISARMAMENT

## New report from American Quakers

A DETAILED and factual analysis of the problem of disarmament, and a survey of the negotiations which have already taken place, has been undertaken by the American Friends Service Committee, and published in pamphlet form under the title "Toward Security Through Disarmament" (Housmans Bookshop 2s.).

In 1949, the Committee issued a report on "The United States and the Soviet Union" and in 1951, another report on "Steps to Peace." "Towards Security Through Disarmament" is the work of a group consisting of both Quakers and non-Quakers and including specialists in problems related to disarmament and the control of atomic energy. In a series of four articles, Olwen Battersby will give an outline of the facts set out and conclusions reached.

"A DEEP human desire for security" the report points out, is the underlying motive causing both East and West to build their arms to unprecedented heights. But facts prove how mistaken is the supposition underlying this course of action:

"If military might alone can give us a sense of security, certainly in 1952, the United States should feel secure. We have the most favoured, most easily protected geographical position of any nation in the world. We have the most highly developed industrial strength, the largest navy, the greatest stockpile of atomic weapons. Yet the feeling of insecurity is more epidemic among us since the end of World War II than at any time within memory."

"Rearmament seems only to lead to the reararmament of those we most fear," it continues, and each new measure and counter measure brings nearer "the war that nobody wants."

### Did U.S. disarm?

The argument most often put forward to discount the value of disarmament is

## War devastation in Russia surprised him FOR LEADER'S EXPERIENCES

MR. HUGH FAULKNER, organising secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, told a meeting at Wellingborough, Northants, recently that he felt war would not affect the Soviet people as they had become so wedded to their society.

Mr. Faulkner, one-time Anglican minister and for the past four years a Quaker, had recently visited Russia and was speaking at the invitation of the Wellingborough Branch of the Fellowship.

To Wellingborough he had come from Leicester where he had delivered four educational talks in schools.

Mr. Faulkner said he had been surprised to find that Moscow people lived normal and contented lives, going about their work as people in this country did.

He had never understood, until he visited the Soviet Union, how much devastation had been caused during the war. However from the bombed sites were now rising houses, schools and universities.

### 'Comics' and 'little angels'

In a conversation with the Soviet Minister of Education Mr. Faulkner had inquired what political training was given in Russian schools and was told, "We aim to create the society of Communism."

"Everyone in Russia seems to be caught up in the development of the country," added Mr. Faulkner, "there is never any of the 'couldn't care less attitude' which is so common over here."

He found that Pioneer camps of children were just like any British Boy Scout or Boys Brigade camp. He thought, however, that Russian children were more serious both in work and play than their opposite number in this country.

They did not have "comics," lurid literature and could not see gangster films, but he did not believe that the exclusion of such things made children "little angels."

During his tour Mr. Faulkner said he visited factories and theatres and found the social and health services working well. The chairman was the Rev. C. F. Guy

## W. YORKSHIRE CONFERENCE

A conference on "Britain and World Peace" held in Bradford on October 25 by the Federation of West Yorkshire Peace Organisations, was attended by 120 delegates and observers from 76 organisations.

Alderman Frank Smithson JP, of York, who opened the afternoon session, said that one of the chief causes of war was the poverty, and resulting ignorance and misery, of half the world's population. The other chief cause was the immense profit to be made out of armaments.

The Duke of Bedford, who spoke at the evening session, stressed the importance of every single citizen as "a little bit of public opinion."

A resolution urging the immediate repeal of conscription, brought forward by the Bradford Independent Labour Party, was amended on the motion of the Bradford Young Communist League to a call for a reduction in the call-up period, and carried with 15 dissentients.

Other resolutions dealt with re-armament, the war in Korea, the German situation, the Vienna Peace Congress and bacteriological warfare.

the statement that the United States unilaterally disarmed after World War II. This statement, it points out, is quite unsupported by fact.

"If all categories of weapons are included, as they must be in any fair analysis of military strength, the theory of America's unilateral disarmament collapses."

"Since the war, our production of atomic weapons has produced without pause and at an immense tempo, a far-flung network of air bases has been developed, and we have maintained a large complement of heavy aircraft usable for atomic bombing."

"Our wartime navy, by far the largest in the world, has been maintained on a stand-by basis. In no post-war year has our military budget fallen below 11 million dollars. This is hardly unilateral disarmament."

### Past attempts at disarmament

Those who have thought about the subject, the report states, have long realised that peace and order depend not on arms, but on disarmament, as shown by the negotiations at the Hague Peace Conference of 1899, the General Disarmament Conference of the League of Nations—which did much useful work which can still be used—and by the Dumbarton Oaks and San Francisco conferences which formulated and adopted the United Nations Charter.

But hope of early agreement after World War II was soon dashed by East-West differences. Tension broke into bloody and devastating conflict in Korea, Indo-China, and elsewhere, and the desperate needs of people in war-torn and under-developed areas of the world were not met.

As a result the world is now engrossed in history's most costly and ominous arms race and war is an omnipresent threat.

"We believe," says the report, "that negotiated settlements are possible NOW. And we are firmly convinced that unless they are sought now, negotiation will become still more difficult..."

Following chapters in "Toward Security Through Disarmament," which will be summarised in succeeding issues of Peace News, indicate the areas of agreement and disagreement already reached, and give concrete proposals for the repudiation of the use of weapons of mass destruction, bringing the arms race to a stand-still, establishing inclusive controls, and as soon as possible reducing all military potential.

(To be continued.)

## THIN EDGE OF U.S. IMPERIALISM IN INDIA

—Kumarappa

"I HOLD that those who co-operate in this scheme are as Quislings who work with the enemies of their country and bring about the destruction of their own land."

In these words the distinguished Indian economist, J. C. Kumarappa, friend of Gandhi and Chairman of the All India Village Industries Association, has condemned the recent agreement signed by India for technical co-operation with the USA.

In an article in Gram Udyog Patrika, the organ of the AIVIA, he describes the agreement as constituting the thin edge of the wedge of American Imperialism in India.

He sees the programme as "striving to fill the vacuum created by inefficient administration" on the departure of British Political Imperialism.

He urges that while the USA will be contributing only about 2 annas in the rupee (2s. 6d. in the £) it will nevertheless be given a controlling voice in the affairs of the Community Projects to be undertaken, and the technicians to be sent over are to be given diplomatic immunity. He contrasts this special status to be given to "private foreign citizens working in our country" with the very small quota basis upon which Indians may be admitted to the USA. He says:

"If we have no funds to cover 55 projects why not cut down the scheme by one-eighth; make it 48 projects only and maintain our self-respect. It will make hardly any difference, while it will add to our self-help and experience."

## AMERICANS ASKED TO VOTE ON KOREAN WAR

REGINALD THOMPSON'S article "Catastrophe—or Peace" which appeared in Peace News of August 29, was reprinted by the Episcopal League for Social Action of Philadelphia, USA, and sent to their mailing-list of some 1,000 people last month.

Mr. Kenneth Ripley Forbes, Chairman of the League, specially commended Reginald Thompson's article to those members who believed that Christian people must, however regretfully, support the Korean war as a necessity for destroying Communist aggression.

With the article went a voting-paper for a peace referendum, sponsored by 100 prominent Americans, which was being distributed by a large number of religious and other organisations. Recipients were asked to vote "Yes" or "No" to the statement "I want a cease fire in Korea NOW with all remaining questions to be settled at an immediate peace conference."

## COs in Holland

Since 1945, 2,000 applications for registration as conscientious objectors have been made in Holland. "The Legal Status of COs in the Netherlands," is outlined in the BEDA Quarterly News Sheet (English language edn.) obtainable from Stadhouderskade 116, Amsterdam.

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# ABOVE ALL ENMITIES

By W. R. Hughes

Documents of Humanity, published by Gottingen Research Committee, Gottingen, Germany. Distributed in Great Britain by Housmans Bookshop, price 5s.

I HAVE sometimes tried to imagine what our feelings would be today if, seven years ago, we had lost a war and our conquerors, needing room for their own purposes, had taken possession of Scotland and driven all its inhabitants over the border in one great mass of misery, never to return to their beloved homeland.

Should we be ready after a few years, with the refugees still crowding out our homes, making all our problems doubly difficult, to accept the situation, forgive all those who combined to impose it upon us, and confess our own sins?

When we hear even a few of the million-fold stories of what the exodus from Poland and East Germany meant to the families who had to flee and leave behind all their goods save what they could carry on their backs, and perhaps be robbed of that on the way, we are moved by a natural human pity. We are apt to leave it at that and pass by "on the other side."

Have we forgotten that our own country, through its assent to the Potsdam agreement, took part in this action?

Our consciences were uneasy at the time, but we quieted them with the argument that the war must be won and that we did not regard the decision as a final settlement; we would adjust it later, in the Peace Treaties.

And now? We shrug our shoulders, put all the blame on Russia, and try to forget our share of the responsibility. A few of us have given a little personal service to the sufferers, or put an old suit of clothes into a sack for them.

It is not to be wondered at that the refugees themselves form a league of the disinherited homeless, that some of their Pastors preach that one day God will lead them home again, that many of them nurse a bitter resentment which makes them diffi-

# Seeker after righteousness

By VERA BRITAIN

My Dear Timothy. An Autobiographical Letter to his Grandson by Victor Gollancz. Gollancz, 12s. 6d.

THIS must be one of the most candid autobiographies ever published. It is as ruthless in its self-revelation as Rousseau's "Confessions" or George Moore's "Hail and Farewell."

As a young master at Repton, Victor Gollancz's first discovery about his boys was "simply that they were good." They were many other things, too, of a more questionable kind, but what mattered was their reaching out towards goodness and beauty. Exactly the same comment is appropriate to this book. A quotation familiar to all churchgoers follows the title-page: "O Lord, open thou my lips, and my mouth shall shew forth thy praise." Before I was half way through, I wanted to substitute, or add, the Fourth Beatitude: "Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled."

Here is the self-portrait of a man with the temperament of a prima-donna who is yet fundamentally humble and perpetually repentant. Exuberant, emotional, impulsive, egotistical, passionate, generous, courageous and deeply affectionate, his virtues, graces, and vices alike are always larger than life. He may be enraged with someone whose conduct offends him; a subsequent reflection that he has judged on insufficient evidence leads to anxious amends. In the same spirit he founded "Save Europe Now" to help Britain's defeated enemies.

From this book, which sweeps the reader along like the rush of an express train, comes the impression of a total honesty which is the most difficult and painful quality to achieve in autobiographical writing. Humbug and "swank" amongst his acquaintances find least ready forgiveness. Many readers will chuckle reminiscently over the story of the "famous professor" who called at the Gollancz office to announce impressively: "Victor, I've just come from Downing Street; Winston has given me Palestine for the Jews."

The richness and idealism of Mr. Gollancz's mind defeat justice from a reviewer as completely as his driving intensity leaves the reader gasping for breath. Small interpolated gems describing the Berkshire house and garden in which he writes bring occasional relief to both reader and author. For within these pages are the most poignant memories of a generation which has seen too much history, and by faith alone has struggled repeatedly through death towards resurrection. At times I was stirred almost unbearably by the re-created images of a vanished world; by reminders of Oxford in spring, Ibsen's plays read on winter evenings, the symbolic loveliness of dahlias in autumn, the "incommunicable magic" of the summer term in 1914.

This is the kind of book which one marks, and marks again. I have space to quote only one passage which indicates the sacramental splendour of its 435 pages:

"If we attempt to end the conflict within us, and the agony that this conflict involves, by being acted upon, we are giving up reality and becoming less than fully human. It is the tension of this struggle that gives us our glory... it is the combination of the evil within us and our struggle against it—precisely this—that produces, in every one of us save those rare souls that are born almost without sin, the very best of which we are capable; that produces a value greater than could ever have been there if neither evil nor struggle had existed."

This is exactly the conflict known to most readers of this paper: let us take courage from such evidence of shared experience. "My Dear Timothy" may lift you to the heights or, possibly, arouse you to fury; in either case you must not miss it. If you are prepared to be exasperated, lashed into argument, tired out, moved to tears, and finally left with the feeling that only righteousness matters, this is the Christmas gift for you.

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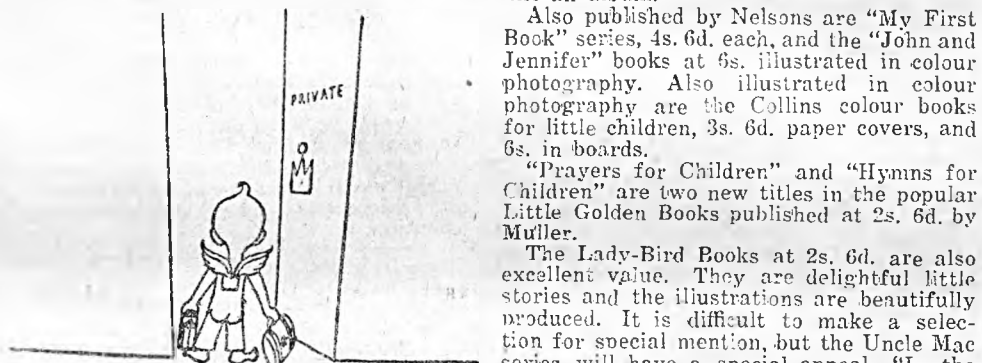
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# Books I would give to children...

By DORA DAWTRY

and "The Spanish Twins" (Cape, 6s.). This is a very popular series and a very good introduction to the lives of children in other lands.

A book which has recently been published "He Had No Revolver" by F. J. Coultts (Barnisdale Press, 5s.) contains a number of true stories of people who overcame danger and opposition not by the use of violence but by kindness and sympathetic understanding. This will have a special appeal to pacifists who are anxious to find stories of adventure and daring which will appeal



to the children but which do not glorify the use of force and weapons of violence.

"Down on the Farm" by Syd Carter (Faber, 12s. 6d.) tells the story of Bill, a town boy who spent a year on a farm, and introduces the readers to all the inhabitants of the farm in their daily life.

A particularly attractive series of instructional books is the Parrish Colour Books (Bodley Head, 6s. boards, 7s. 6d. cloth) including "How the First Man Lived," "The First Great Inventors," "How the World was Explored" and the latest "Let's Look at the Sky"—a first book of astronomy; and for the younger children "The Wonder Book of Animals," "If you could see Inside" and "I'll Show You How it Happens" all by Marie Neurath.

Within recent years there has been a growing interest in birds and flowers amongst children as well as amongst grown-ups. Two recent books published by Chambers and illustrated in full colour will appeal to the child with an interest in the wild life around him. They are "The Children's Book of British Birds" by G. D. Fisher (The Hut Man of the BBC) and "The Children's Book of Wild Flowers" by Nancy Miller (7s. 6d. each). Another book in the same category is "The Young Field Naturalist's Guide" by Maxwell Knight (Bell 10s. 6d.).

Two books by Amabel Williams Ellis show how resourcefulness and courage are not confined to the soldiers and statesmen of the world. In "Men Who Found Out"

(9s. 6d.) and "Good Citizens" (7s. 6d.) both from Bodley Head, she shows how the lives of men and women who worked to relieve the suffering and hardships of mankind were just as interesting as those of the men who won battles and controlled the state.

Most of the books so far mentioned have been for older children, but there are also a great many attractively produced books for little children. Nelson's Hercules Books including "The Happy ABC," "Favourite Animals" and "Trains," each 7s., are practically indestructible for very young children. They consist of eighteen brightly coloured pictures bound together with joints like an album.

Also published by Nelsons are "My First Book" series, 4s. 6d. each, and the "John and Jennifer" books at 6s. illustrated in colour photography. Also illustrated in colour photography are the Collins colour books for little children, 3s. 6d. paper covers, and 6s. in boards.

"Prayers for Children" and "Hymns for Children" are two new titles in the popular Little Golden Books published at 2s. 6d. by Muller.

The Lady-Bird Books at 2s. 6d. are also excellent value. They are delightful little stories and the illustrations are beautifully produced. It is difficult to make a selection for special mention, but the Uncle Mac series will have a special appeal—"In the Wilderness with Uncle Mac," "Beside the Sea with Uncle Mac" and "Uncle Mac's ABC."

Amelarianne Series (Harrap, 5s.) has been a favourite with little children ever since this endearing little girl first appeared. Each book contains many enchanting illustrations in full colour. "Mary Poppins in the Park" is a new little book in the Mary Poppins series.

Apart from these there are the Peter Rabbit books (3s. 6d.) which have given immense delight to small children ever since the characters were invented by Beatrix Potter for a small child of her acquaintance. Close rivals to these are the Little Grey Rabbit books by Alison Utley (4s.).

Mention must be made of the excellent Puffin Picture Books published by Penguin Books at 2s., which include titles suitable for children of any age; and the Puffin Story Books at prices from 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d. including such titles as "The Family Farm," "One End Street," "The Secret Garden" and "Selected Stories and Verses by Walter de la Mare," all excellent value.

A "Bible for Boys and Girls" with maps and illustrations (6s., rexine binding 7s. 6d.) has just been published by Nelson. Another well produced Bible for children is the School Bible published by Oxford University Press at 5s. 6d.

There is no space left to mention in detail the various editions of children's classics but there are many well-produced editions available, from 4s. 6d. to 18s. 6d., of all the old favourites.



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### CHRISTMAS VERSES

by Sylvia Tatham

2s. 6d.

THE ABBEY PRESS, ABINGDON, BERKS.

## MORALS AND WEAPONS

By Hallam Tennyson

DR. KONRAD LORENZ'S King Solomon's Ring\* has had in this country one of the widest sales ever attained by a book about animals.

Dr. Lorenz combines wit and expert knowledge to an extraordinary degree. His book, as well as being sheer delight from cover to cover, is also a profound, indeed unique, study of animal behaviour.

One is, of course, tempted, in spite of the author's many warnings, to draw human parallels. In his last chapter on Morals and Weapons, Dr. Lorenz draws such parallels himself. One may be forgiven, perhaps, for imitating him.

The author tells us of the inhibition which many animals have developed against killing their own species. Generally speaking, this inhibition varies in direct ratio to the power of the animal's weapons and its capacity for escape.

Thus the "gentle" and strictly vegetarian ring- and turtle-doves have no such inhibition. Their beaks are not sufficiently murderous and their flight is too swift for normal conflict to prove fatal in the open air.

But put them together in a cage and see what happens!

One day, Dr. Lorenz returned from Vienna to find one of his captive harbingers of peace standing on the prostrate body of her mate whom she had flayed to the point of death. Her eyes were that refined, sentimental look that has so appealed through the ages to humankind.

The wolf, on the other hand—"la bestia senza pace"—never so mutilates one of his own kind. And he is prevented from doing so, by what can only be called a form of "motor" inhibition.

When a wolf is vanquished, he stands rigidly exposing the nape of his neck to his conqueror's fangs, inviting him apparently to rip open his jugular vein.

But this is precisely what the victor cannot do. As long as the defeated wolf retains his attitude of humility, the victor's fighting instincts are totally inhibited.

That this inhibition is psycho-physical in

origin and not, in the human sense, moral can be seen from the example of the peacock and the turkey.

These two birds are closely enough related to "appreciate" their mutual manifestations of virility and thus to engage in combat. But whereas the turkey has developed the submissive reaction, the peacock has not.

The result is tragedy. For if the turkey is defeated—and being a poor flier, he usually is—he lies flat at the peacock's feet and stretches out his neck. This, however, in no way inhibits the fighting drives of the peacock, who proceeds to peck and kick his victim all the harder. But the more he is thus attacked, the more helpless the turkey becomes and the more certainly are his escape reactions blocked. It does not and cannot occur to him to jump up and run away.

Obviously, this inhibition on the part of the more lethally-armed animals has developed to save their species from extinction. If an animal possesses a weapon that can kill a fellow being with one or two blows, it must also, in order to survive, develop a social inhibition that prevents the use of this weapon.

Man (apart from the very solitary species such as polar bears and jaguars) is the only animal with lethal weapons who has not yet developed this inhibition. And for an obvious reason. Man's weapons are not part of his own body.

The fact that he has had to develop by brain rather than by muscle power has been the key to his evolution. But it means that his psycho-physical constitution has no instinctive control over his weapons.

Of course, man has, in a rudimentary form, often shown himself capable of the "submissive reaction." The Homeric warrior and the mediaeval knight, wishing to plead for mercy, threw away their helmet and shield and inclined their heads: alas, their victors were not always as tender-hearted as wolves or turkeys. Yet, by and large, it is still considered "unsporting" to hit a man when he is down.

Above all, Dr. Lorenz sees the saying of Christ as the most unequivocal statement of the moral force that humanity needs. "And unto him that smiteth thee on the one cheek, offer him the other also." Offer it, that is, not that your enemy may strike you again, but that he may be rendered unable to do so. It seems that wisdom is not only to be found in the mouths of babes and sucklings but also in the fangs of wolves.

Lacking a natural and instinctive inhibition "against slaughter" man therefore needs, if he is to survive, a moral power strong enough to control the use of the deadly weapons which his ingenuity has so busily devised.

Dr. Lorenz might have added that as man, in our modern world, can only use the worst of these weapons corporately, it is nations and groups as well as individuals who will have to show us the alternative to war.

Which people will have the courage to put to the test the way of suffering love that alone can check the raised arm of violence? Will humanity have the vision needed to save itself?

If, as Dr. Lorenz implies, pacifism is not "natural" or "instinctive" to man, then pacifists must face the fact that blood, tears and sweat as grievous as any endured in battle will be the lot of those determined to achieve this next stage of human evolution.

\* Methuen, 15s.

### Toward human dignity

Neither East nor West, by Marie-Louise Berneri. Freedom Press, 10s. 6d.

EACH one of the fifty-seven articles which make up this book deals incisively and realistically with some aspects of the fundamental causes of the enormous distress which confronts mankind today.

The list of contents covers the period between 1940-1947 and ranges over matters which are even more urgent today than they were when these articles were first written.

Some instances of social injustice, such as the colour bar; the treatment of refugees and modern witch hunts, have so worsened that one becomes increasingly aware of the passionate intensity of Marie-Louise Berneri's urgency not only to make her individual protest against injustice but to make known and arouse a constructive militant indignation so that such tragic developments as we are now witnessing should not come about.

A quality which this important book possesses above all others, is the clarity and objectivity with which the author shows that the ills of modern society are man-made and are the outcome of deliberate policy, and that the essence of this policy is ruthless violence. As such then, it is not beyond the power of mankind to have done with this evil system and work instead towards a life free from fear—towards a vital internationalism among men and women, towards human dignity and a guiding principle in our lives based upon a real humanity. R.S.

## The conduct of life

The Conduct of Life, by Lewis Mumford  
Published by Seeker and Warburg, 21s.

THE author of this book,\* a well known American writer, claims that although this is Book 4 of a series, it is in fact a preface to the three earlier books entitled respectively "Technics and Civilisation," "The Culture of Cities" and "The Condition of Man."

It deals, broadly speaking, with the world's present crises, suggesting a way to prepare for a renewal of life—not by way of atom bombs and genocide for one's so-called enemies, but by a restoration of individual personal responsibility and action in resisting present barbarism, though the realisation will probably lead to sacrifice, the giving up of security and comfort, thus entailing hardship and insecurity.

Mr. Mumford affirms that we—through inertia, acceptance of current majority views and lack of reflection and discrimination—are all involved in the present evils and must share and shoulder the guilt.

Through our lack of quiet thought, and inaction, the world is to a great extent in the hands of "Connoisseurs of violence, gangsters, agents and potential practitioners of random violence" who devise instruments of genocide; and the people prepared to make and use these weapons—which are placed at the disposal of moral imbeciles and psychotics—"include supposedly honourable and intelligent members of society."

We cannot hope for a mass regeneration but through meditation we must "know ourselves," then individually we may, like Saul of Tarsus, obtain enlightenment.

No single religion is advocated but a ripe wisdom derived from all world teachers, Christ, Buddha, Confucius, great writers and philosophers of many nations, past and present. East and West are considered and referred to. Men such as Gandhi and Schweitzer are upheld as examples, working for all men irrespective of colour or creed. There must be the will to create a universal society of friends, a real brotherhood of man.

The first step should be detachment from prevalent ideas and customs, followed by quiet periods for reflection, says Lewis Mumford, then you will find that success and prosperity, trivial modern amusements and the like become dust and ashes in comparison with reality and you will begin to wonder what you, personally can do now to improve the present situation and wipe away the hatred, evil and fear now rife which unless speedily prevented will cause disaster and extermination.

The twenty pages of bibliography form a valuable mine in which to dig for further knowledge and understanding.

H. M. YOUNG.

### WHEN A JUDGE COMES HOME

By MARY WILLIS

LAST April The New Republic (Washington D.C.) published an article by Justice William O. Douglas, of the U.S. Supreme Court, entitled "The Power of Righteousness." This attracted widespread attention, and has now been reprinted as a pamphlet.\*

Mr. Douglas has spent three summer vacations travelling in the middle East and Asia, and has come back convinced that the false American standards of civilisation have led the United States to make great blunders in their attempts to give economic aid to these countries.

Unless great care is exercised, he shows, Point Four aid will do nothing to benefit the common people. In countries where the feudal system still prevails, any increase in agricultural output will benefit only the landlords. Similarly in countries where there is no adequate trade union organisation, the establishment of large-scale industries will benefit only the stockholders.

He therefore urges that agricultural aid should be confined to countries where land reform is being carried out, and that all aid should be administered in such a way as to show that the Declaration of Independence was not meant for Americans only but was, as Abraham Lincoln believed, "a document that would inspire other people to shake the weight and burdens from their shoulders the world around."

The whole pamphlet, which describes some of the successes as well as the failures of Point Four, is a plea that America should exercise the power of righteousness—Point Five as Mr. Douglas calls it—in place of the righteousness of power.

\* From The New Republic, 1416 Street N.W., Washington, 4, D.C. 10 cents.

## HOW

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## HOW TO REACH AGREEMENT

By OLWEN BATTERSBY

Roads to Agreement, by Stuart Chase. Phoenix House, 18s.

"It is still a race between the inventors of ever-more lethal weapons and the inventors of international techniques of agreement." Thus Stuart Chase sums up the findings of his research.

"Roads to Agreement" is in a sense, a sequel to "The Proper Study of Mankind" published by the author in 1950. The earlier book reported some of the hopeful experiments the social sciences had been making in areas of social conflict; the present book brings the story to a sharp focus upon the fundamental problem—how to reach agreement.

The greater part of the book recounts specific cases where agreement has been reached or conflict reduced. It describes some of the practical methods toward that end that have been developed over the years—the Quaker Meeting, the Anglo-Saxon Jury system, combat-groups in the army—as well as more recent experiments carried out at the Universities and elsewhere. Conditions of labour peace, and the astonishing growth of the American arbitration movement are discussed at length.

The last of five recurring principles of agreement that the author enumerates is "the principle that agreement is much easier when people feel secure"; and he asks how much of the truculence of the Russian Government today is due to a fear of a rearmament Germany and Japan.

Turning to the most difficult of all problems in human relations, the clash between nations and cultures, in a chapter headed "Danger, Men Talking," the author lists the many obstacles to complete understanding between nations, and emphasises the need for an international communication system, which perhaps "should not even be called a language." He finds encouragement in the research being done by UNESCO's analysis of international conferences, Kluckhohn's Russian Research Centre at present operating on a five-year grant from the Carnegie Foundation, and the programme of the Foreign Service Institute at Washington.

On the subject of Peace and War, the author says:

"Apparently the only way to get War out of a culture is to build a new institution to replace it—a moral equivalent" in the words of William James. A super-government to replace the absolute sovereignty of nations would be such an institution. This is the effort behind the League of Nations, the United Nations, and the Lillenthal-Acheson Plan."

The last-named plan, he points out, although in the first place aimed at a single function—the control of atomic energy—was so formed that by a process of natural growth, other functions might well be added to it—the problem of world food supply, world epidemic control, conservation, weather information, industrial development in low-income areas along the lines of President Truman's "Point Four" programme. It is, in his view, the best of all the proposals for inducing sovereign states to co-operate, and might by gradual stages, bring about the realisation of "One World."

The author concludes on a hopeful note. If even our present knowledge could be fully applied, the effects might transform society. The time may yet come, when in the words of Bertrand Russell, "the human race will allow itself to be happy."

## East Africa and Suez

By ROY SHERWOOD

Eritrea on the Eve, by E. Sylvia Pankhurst. "New Times and Ethiopia News" Books, 7s. 6d.

AS the western world's foremost champion of the Ethiopian and Eritrean people's rights, the author is concerned here not only with an historical retrospect but also, and perhaps mainly, with the material conditions in which the new federation between the two countries is taking place.

They have had to wait a long time for the measure of restitution now granted to them: Eritrea for seventy years, divided into sixty of Italian domination and ten of British "caretaking"; and Ethiopia for seventeen, ever since Mussolini was allowed to get away with the first sinister act of aggression from which other aggressions, and eventually World War II, followed in logical sequence.

\*

As the author says on page 10, nothing could wipe out the losses suffered by the Ethiopians under Italian aggression; nothing could compensate them for the permanent injuries from the unsparing use of poison gas, from murders and mutilations, from the looting of villages and burning of farms, from the suppression of education and the deliberate extermination of educated and experienced leaders. But the expensive installations erected by the Mussolini regime in and around the port of Massawa and at other seaports would have proved highly useful to the tardy re-union between Ethiopia and Eritrea.

But they have been destroyed, deliberately and thoroughly, in execution of an incomprehensible sort of scorched earth policy directed against the Ethiopians, not under the stress of wartime operations, but by order, well after the cessation of hostilities in every theatre of war, of the British Caretaker Administration.

The ostensible excuse has been that most of the Italian installations were suitable only for war purposes, which is untrue as far as the word only is concerned. Any reader of this profusely illustrated book can see for himself that the deliberate work of demolition includes a great deal of harbour equipment and commercial facilities, the newly enforced lack of which must severely handicap the Eritrean-Ethiopian federation. It even includes, incidentally, a cement factory and a hospital.

\*

Repeated questions asked in the House of Commons by Mr. Peter Freeman, M.P., the chairman of the International Ethiopian Council for Study and Report, elicited the British Government's solid, but quite unexplained, intention to leave as little as possible in existence in Eritrea that would help the federation, when it came into being, to make rapid headway towards an all-round amelioration in the people's economic and educational standards.

At the outset of its career, the Eritrean-Ethiopian federation has been furnished with a grievance likely to perpetuate the bitterness first born in 1935, when the League of Nations disgraced the principles for the maintenance of which it was created.

Other sections of the book deal with developments since the first Turkish attempts at domination in the 16th century and with the problems now facing the Eritreans and Ethiopians. In four hundred years of experience of foreign nations, these people have had little cause to admire their various self-appointed guides and "protectors."

The Suez Canal in World Affairs, by Hugh J. Schonfield. Constellation Books, 15s.

NO other waterway has played in the last eighty years, or is playing now and likely to play for a long time to come, so important a role in international affairs as the Suez Canal.

It was highly important even before it came into existence; for when Ferdinand de Lesseps, its French originator, shovelled the first spadeful of soil on April 26, 1869, in the presence of his assembled labourers, to mark the start of the practical work, he already had years of struggle behind him against the fierce opposition of Lord Palmerston, ably aided by the British Ambassador at Constantinople.

It seems a safe guess that few of the people who know about Disraeli's cleverness in buying up the Khedive's shares in 1875 also know that de Lesseps allocated 80,000 shares to this country—the same number as he allocated to France—when he organised his company; and that not one of these shares was taken up in England because the Government had advised the public that the whole scheme was hostile to the interests of Great Britain, that it was a reckless gamble at best and, perhaps, something a good deal worse.

Yet no international undertaking had (or has) ever been launched with better evidence and guarantees of peaceful and humanitarian aims; nor with an historical background more convincingly indicative of usefulness to all the world. For the present Canal, as the author shows in his first chapter, is only a much improved version of the Red Sea - Mediterranean communication which existed in times so ancient that we can get no nearer to the date of its inception than "circa 2000 B.C.," though the traces of the old Canal of the Pharaohs can still be seen.

Leaving the past, both distant and comparatively recent, Mr. Schonfield takes his reader through the vicissitudes of the Suez Canal since its opening in 1869, and through the maze of jealousies and wrangles between great powers, which have punctuated its history since its former denigrators came to recognise its enormous value in shortening the route to the East.

Today it is not only all it has been for eighty years. It has been invested with added importance on account of its value in the new requirement of "defence of the Middle-East," and for some time past it has been a bone of contention between this country and Egypt.

If the Britain v. Egypt issue could be settled in a vacuum, it would probably have been settled long ago—if, indeed, it had ever arisen. But it is, of course, as most things now are, bedevilled by the great Powers' deplorable inability to come to mutual terms of tolerance.

And, since no national wrong can ever be admitted except in distant retrospect, the narrower issue between Great Britain and Egypt has been complicated by the Sudanese question. That saves Britain from admitting anything that is wrong in our past and present attitude to the complete evacuation of Egyptian soil, and enables the Egyptians to begot the problem of Sudan. They are not the first people, nor in this case the only party to a dispute, to mix right and wrong in a judicious mixture apt to distract attention from the weaknesses of their case.

Mr. Schonfield's book, though leaving this contentious issue alone altogether as lying outside the scope of his study, is so complete in enumeration and explanation of past and present factors that it affords valuable help in arriving at a proper understanding of the present complicated situation.

A Nation Builder at Work, by Pyarelal. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Obtainable in Britain from Housmans Bookshop, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4. 2s. 3d.

IN reading these lectures prepared for colleges in India at moments one forgets that "we" refers to the peoples of another continent, for although our problems are very different in detail, the most important issues relate to life all over the world.

Two-thirds of the book deals with Gandhi's work and influence in such a way as to leave a wish for more information than space allows. "At the Cross Roads" discusses the question of agricultural self-sufficiency, as opposed to over-industrialisation and the importation of food, the conservation of soil fertility and the means of raising the general standard of living without encouraging that hankering after material goods which becomes a hindrance to real freedom.

"Cottage industries cannot finance our war machine" is a counter argument, "...our neighbours will swallow us." And Pyarelal continues, "We too then shall have our armament kings and 'merchants of death' our Schneiders and Skodas, that will not scruple to amass profits by selling armaments to potential enemies in peace time to keep their show running. And these will be used to slaughter us and our folk in the event of a war. On the other hand, if we want health, freedom, leisure, sunshine and life, food and clothing for the millions, we have to go the way that Gandhi showed us!"

PATRICIA HUTCHINS.

## BOB MANNIN

IN "This was a Man" (Jarrolds, 6s.) Ethel Mannin pays tribute to her father, Bob Mannin, who was surely the source from which she derives much of her imaginative quality.

To those who regard agnosticism as a sterile "creed" Bob Mannin was the answer—his humour and good companionship, the affection he inspired, his wide range of interests, complete absence of affectation and his wholesome opinion of militarism as summed up by "Ez fur war i call it murder..."

Born in a London slum he spent half his 75 years as a London Post Office sorter and Miss Mannin writes devotedly of his off-duty moments at home, of the family holidays, of his liking for cut glass and the writings of Kipling, London, W. W. Jacobs and Robert Service. One of his grand-daughters and both his sons-in-law, as well as his daughter Ethel were conscientious objectors, while his Naval Commander son received a decoration for war services.

The book is specially recommended to pacifists. All earnings from sales are to be given to the Vallance Youth Club, 9 Chicksand Street, E.1.

GEORGE WILLIAMS.

## Christmas Verses

THESE twenty-one "Christmas Verses" would make a charming Christmas present. Most of them are very simple and many are suitable for reading aloud to children. "God's Gifts," and several of the others, would make delightful recitations. Others are more ambitious, and of these "The Light of Christmas" tracing the beauty and challenge of the seasons in the Christian year, and "Absolution":

Could I but empty all my heart  
Of that wherein Thou hast no part...

seems to me to succeed best.

This is the first book of Sylvia Tatham's I have seen, and I do not know how long she has been writing poetry. It seems to me that a great deepening and strengthening of her talent might take place if, within her strong Christian framework, she now sought her subjects from her private, and perhaps less orthodox, meditations. I should guess that she reads Blake: the strength and precision of John Donne, and the compressed, ecstatic, lyrical freedom of Gerard Manley Hopkins might also be a great source of stimulation and inspiration to her.

GWYNETH ANDERSON.

\*Christmas Verses, by Sylvia Tatham. Abben Press, Abingdon. 2s. 6d.

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(Specimen copies sent on request)

Indispensable to members of the PPU who want up-to-date information of home and world politics.

The Earth is the Lord's. Shri Vinoba Bhaye and the Land. By Marjorie Sykes (Friends Peace Committee, 6d.).

MOST readers of Peace News will know something about Vinoba Bhaye's Land Gift Mission in India. This disciple of Gandhi has walked from village to village, appealing for gifts of land to be distributed among landless villagers. "If you have four sons," says Vinoba, "and a fifth is born, you will certainly give him his share. Treat me as your fifth son, and give me my share."

## OLIVER DOES IT AGAIN

MANY readers of Peace News and wartime CO's will remember Oliver Brown's invaluable pamphlets "Hypocrisy and Folly of This War," "War for Freedom of Finance?" "Arms and the Man."

Information condensed from hundreds of books, papers, and research archives contained all the answers to those who believed World War II was being fought for any Christian or decent economic or political reason.

In his latest pamphlet "The Extended Tongue" he emerges as a satirical humourist.

Here is an example of his epigrams: "A Revolutionary is a person who wishes to create a form of Society in which he can be a Conservative."

The booklet can be purchased direct from Oliver Brown at Auchencarr, Glasgow Road, Milngavie, Glasgow (1s. 2d. post-free) or from Housmans.

GEORGE PLUME.

## CHALLENGE TO INDIA

If there is a violent revolution in India, land hunger will have been a principal cause. In dealing with the land problem by this appeal to the piety, the family sense of Indian villagers, Vinoba has proceeded more shrewdly than the professional economist might imagine. His aim is, as Marjorie Sykes puts it, to create the atmosphere of public opinion in which land reform legislation can really fulfil its object. The spirit in which Vinoba is trying to do this is conveyed with quiet clarity in this concise and unpretentious pamphlet.

Vinoba's approach is indeed remote from anything that we in this country are likely to put our faith in. Perhaps the last Englishman to appeal to ordinary people in terms of the pieties and customs of a peasant society was William Cobbett; and although his message was eagerly heard, he failed completely to arrest the commercialisation of England. It is natural to regard Vinoba also as another Mrs. Partington trying to mop up the Atlantic Ocean of industrial development.

Cobbett's vision of a renewed countryside, with the "lofty and elegant mansions" of the capitalists uninhabited and crumbling down, is not unlike the revolution for which Gandhi's disciples are working. But Cobbett never persuaded the land-owners of his time to part with a hundred acres of land—let alone a hundred thousand acres. One can only hope that the Land Gift Mission is the beginning of an achievement that will oblige even the economists to pay attention.

GEOFFREY CARNALL.



## NEW BOOKLETS AND PAMPHLETS

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF  
WELSH NATIONALISM

**"TOWARDS an Economic Democracy"**  
(By D. J. Davies, Plaid Cymru, 8, Queen Street, Cardiff, 2s.) is a production of the Welsh Nationalist Movement. Its title to a review in Peace News is that the social order which it outlines is presented as a necessary condition of a peaceful society.

It is claimed, in the first place, that the three main functions of an organised society, its politics, its economics, and its culture, should constitute a unity, and that the fundamental function, which should guide and determine the others, is culture.

But if it be accepted that culture is the basic factor in a society, it follows that wherever a people with a distinct culture exists, they ought to possess complete economic and political freedom in order that they may bring their culture to its fullest and richest fruition, and thereby make their maximum contribution to the advancement and well-being of the human race.

Welsh Nationalists also claim that Home Rule is necessary in order that Wales may organise a largely self-sufficient economy—an essential condition of the decentralisation of political and economic power—and through this, achieve maximum personal responsibility in industry and in civic affairs and the maximum cultural development of the nation as a whole.

\*

One soon perceives that the Welsh Nationalists have been greatly influenced by the economic and cultural achievements of the Scandinavian countries: the cultural content of the education provided by the Danish Folk High Schools, and what is largely a product of this, the highly successful, co-operatively organised peasant, or family, farming of Denmark, also the fact that Sweden (according to an English Government Report) "is the third largest consumer, per head, of electric current, with the result that Sweden is becoming increasingly self-supporting both in machinery and in consumers' goods industries," while she grows enough of all the staple foods to maintain her population though only about 10 per cent of her land is cultivated.

Here are a few relevant quotations:

"Human personality can develop fully only in a system which gives the utmost possible freedom and responsibility to the individual . . .

"Freedom and responsibility can only be made a reality for the individual if there is decentralisation of control . . .

"The nation-state is needed as a moving idea, a centre of reference to give people the feeling that they are going somewhere together . . .

"With . . . a World Government sitting in New York or elsewhere, the Welsh worker can have no real say in the freedom of his industry and no real freedom to shape his economic life in accordance with his own ideals and traditions . . .

\*

Then comes a quotation of Lord Keynes which pacifists should use even more than they do:

"Even the late Lord Keynes recognised the superior desirability of a programme of increased national self-sufficiency, and stressed a very important point when he urged that such a programme would lessen the danger of international conflict thus: 'The nations of the world should pursue a policy of economic isolation if they wish to lessen the danger of international conflict. Ideas, knowledge, science, hospitality, travel—these are the things which should of their nature be international. But let goods be home-spun wherever it is reasonably and conveniently possible, and, above all, let finance be primarily national!'"

The pamphlet states the case for decentralisation and self-determination and all that these imply, clearly and convincingly, and supports its case with a generous array of evidence and examples.

WILFRED WELLOCK.

## Buoyant evangelism

ONE must be very grateful for all inspiration and optimism in these dark days and on the principle that one "should not look a gift-horse in the mouth" one should wholeheartedly accept the deep religious evangelism and buoyant claims of "Help and Guidance" by L. G. Kirkham, 1s. 6d., from L. G. Kirkham (Books), St. Leonards-on-Sea.

Its appeal will be mainly to those disposed to religion, and those interested in spiritual-healing will value its confident and triumphant passages. Objective thinkers may want more evidence and "doubting Thomases" will think that Mr. Kirkham claims too much. These will think it wishful thinking to say that "Unselfish love can redeem any sinner," and ask how far we can agree that "there is point and purpose to our afflictions."

One would like to believe that the door to Utopia is ajar, but one wonders!

W.H.

**Extinction or Brotherhood: Youth must decide, by Francis Noble. Fellowship of Reconciliation, 3d.**

**"WAR is politically ineffective because it is morally evil and they who take Jesus Christ seriously are not free to play any part in it."**

This is the answer which the author—outspoken vicar of Crofton Orpington—gives to the youth of to-day faced with the problem of whether to support a policy of "peace through defensive preparations" or whether to renounce utterly the war method with all its implications.

In the first half of this six page pamphlet the author lists in simple language the incontrovertible facts which go to prove the futility of war. The 1914 war was to be a "war to end war"; World War II was fought largely to secure democracy; yet in spite of the enormous cost in lives and money there has never been less security or more tyranny in the world than at present, while moral values have universally declined.

Moreover, a policy of defensive preparation and negotiation from strength, have caused two-thirds of the world's population to remain undernourished and has created the very conditions in which Communism so easily takes root.

For war, the author contends, is contrary to the way of life as shown by Jesus Christ; hence its futility. Jesus taught that evil can only effectively be overcome by good and that love in the long run is all powerful. This moral teaching is as real and valid as what we call "scientific law": to disregard either is to wreck and sabotage God's creation.

The second part of the pamphlet points to the better way. The growth of the Christian Church and the granting of self government to India are quoted as striking victories for the pacifist method.

In conclusion the author draws a parallel between the small group, ridiculed and misrepresented, who, two hundred years ago, saw the slave trade as a flagrant defiance of Christ's teaching and dedicated themselves to ending it, and the growing body of Christians today who, realising that modern war threatens mankind with ex-

inction, have pledged themselves to renounce it.

"Mankind will be saved if soon enough Christians in general, just because they are loyal to Christ, refuse to make armaments or to be conscripted into using them and determine to live out his teaching of all-conquering love. And time is short."

## ORCHARD LEA PAPERS

THOSE who are interested in the social-economic theories expounded by Wilfred Wellock will be glad to learn of a new method which he is adopting to disseminate them. He has just issued the first two of the series of single-sheet leaflets to be known as The Orchard Lea Papers.

Under the title "The Supreme Crisis of our Civilisation" No. 1 outlines the fundamental problem: that the era created by the Industrial Revolution has come to an end. No longer have a few great and wealthy powers a monopoly of industrialism which enables them to dominate the rest of the world, using it for production of raw materials and as a market for their goods. Indeed, the Industrial Revolution has gone into reverse. Now the primary producers are setting up their own industrial plants while, as raw materials are getting scarce, it is their turn to sell dearly and buy cheaply.

But the big powers are slow to learn their lesson. Britain, which occupies a pivotal position in the world's economic life, pursues her way with the frenzy of growing uncertainty; it is pathetic to see her preparing to capture more markets than ever to meet her expanding domestic and military demands at the very time when markets are contracting in every direction.

Obtainable from the author at Orchard Lea, New Longton, Preston, Lancs. at 3d. a copy or 12 issues posted as published 3s.

United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) have commenced publication of a monthly bulletin obtainable from them at Russell Square House, London, W.C.1.

## Security in our time

By DENNIS GRAY STOLL

arm myself to the teeth with Church organisations, political and commercial organisations, and military collective security, and then I will deal with the problem of how to get on with the beastly chaos across the border who don't agree with me." That is what the irresponsible man in his national or racial group does, and is destroying himself by so doing.

A recent BBC talk by two Englishmen who had returned from China revealed the interesting fact that the ordinary Chinese believes exactly the same things about the UNO Allies as the ordinary mass-conditioned Englishman and American believes about the Chinese. The mass-mind is much the same everywhere and is susceptible to the same arguments, subject to the same suspicions, and incited by the same hatreds. It is caught in the same confusions, frustrations and desperations, and will turn and rend those whom it is told are responsible for its ills with the same hysterical lack of responsibility as the Germans who persecuted their Jews, the Russians who persecuted their bourgeoisie, and the Americans who are now persecuting their Liberals and Communists. None of the collective security measures of the witch-hunters takes into account that the surest way to undermine the convictions of one's own side is to persecute the other's, for by resorting to suppression one proves that one is afraid for one's own case.

## Growth of totalitarianism

In this respect, "Christian" Democracy lags behind the Totalitarian and Communist State in that its methods of leadership and its suppression of embarrassing minority opinion are less drastic and therefore, slower in their devastating effect on the well-being of its people. But unless as individuals we assert our intelligence, it is only a question of time before Trade Unions, national monopolies and restrictions on private business and art by an increasingly powerful Civil Service, attain that degree of control which brings about a State in which the individual has no voice.

This does not imply that a return to the Conservatism of the past would make Democracy better. Quite apart from the fact that such a return is impossible in a Capitalist State without capital, there is no reason to suppose that the old process would be an improvement. It would merely be, like the horse and carriage, slower than the car. Again, if we look at the condition of the orthodox "Christian" groups, they seem to be not only incapable of the higher flights of faith, hope and charity, but also of ordinary down-to-earth trust, confidence and enterprise. Intense piety, which unthinkingly lends moral support

## Pacifist Miscellany

**POETRY** is unpopular. Not even Wilfred Pickles seems able to create a new demand. Yet poetry is speech at its best. Of the millions of words in the daily press, most are dead next day. But poetry lives for centuries.

My copy of "A Minstrelsy of Peace" is dated Jan. 1, 1918.

Just before that blood-bespattered year of "the knock-out blow" J. Bruce Glasier collected and edited this book of day-break voices of peace.

The hundred famous or well-known British poets whom he assembled challenged the mind and spirit of war, from before the year 1400 to the 20th-century noble utterances of George Russell ("A.E."), when he scorned the deceit of a war to end war—"The Dragon from the Dragon Seed, the breed was true since life was born."

A better and more scholarly propagandist than he ever got credit for being, Glasier in this volume (published at that time by "the National Labour Press" of Manchester and London) enlisted his pacifists both to salute peace and to attack war's massacre of truth and goodness along with lives and the things of life. Their's was the real war to end war.

Suppose we listen to a quite minor member of the team, Thomas Hoccleve. He is appealing for peace with France:

*When ye have fought and striven all  
your fill,  
Peace follow must; but good were it ere  
then  
That peace were had. What lust have  
ye to spill  
The blood that Christ with his blood  
purchased when  
He on the cross died? O Lady Saint  
Anne!  
Thy daughter pray that she beseech  
her son  
To stop of wars the damnable run."*

The poem was written in 1412. But the war continued until events, with Joan of Arc for one of them, proved it to be madness; and the barons and retainers came home, to destroy each other in the Wars of the Roses.

Most people can see through wars when they are over. What is wanted is vision when they are heating up to begin.

This almost forgotten yet excellent compilation can give that insight. It should be brought up to date and reprinted.

PERCY REDFERN

to whatever tradition has taught or whatever authority may find expedient at the moment, is neither intelligent nor creative. The way lies neither in looking back, nor in striving to gaze into the future, but in understanding the present situation as it is.

## Trust in violence

The first thing is to see clearly and admit the folly of the contradiction that is everywhere. President Truman and the Archbishop of Canterbury have just as much difficulty trying to reconcile the Sermon on the Mount with their prayers that Almighty God will show Christians the right use of the atomic bomb, as Premier Stalin and the Politbureau to reconcile the conduct of their governing class with the Classless Gospel of Marx. In the former case, the confusion lies in a trust in violence as a means to bring about peace; in the latter, a belief that a powerful set of Commissars will voluntarily renounce their office on the glorious day when the Soviet realises its dream that all men are equal. Both political and religious leaders, crediting their intentions at the highest, are motivated by a desire to save those who put their trust in them. But since they are themselves confused, they are only capable of leading the confused to worse confusion.

It is only when the individual is no longer in a state of contradiction that there will be no place in his mind for the mass-leader. To observe the present world situation clearly, without bias of Right or Left, of national pride or racial prejudice, is to step out of a trap. Only when the individual sees for himself that everywhere, and even in his own heart, there is a naked struggle for power that masquerades as a moral crusade for collective security, can there be peace. In the collective security plans of mass-leaders there can be nothing but conflict. The burning flame of a mind that is clear, and therefore at peace, blazes all the higher for the unrelieved darkness of the mass. It is not the conflagration of millions, but the solitary gleam of light that is a beacon in the world.

## IT CAN BE PEACE

A public meeting sponsored by the Society of Friends, the Fellowship of Reconciliation and Peace Pledge Union.

Wednesday, December 3, 7.30 p.m.

James Hudson, M.A., M.P.,  
John Ferguson, M.A., B.D.,  
John Kay, M.A.,  
Reginald Reynolds,  
Sybil Morrison (Chairman)  
FRIENDS HOUSE, EUSTON RD., N.W.1

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# LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## The scientist's responsibility

NO analogy is perfect but mine was as sound as I hope my pacifism still is. However, I obviously did not make my point clear and to that extent I failed, for which I am sorry. But how was my answer evasive?

I likened the atom bomb to murder. Many scientists have contributed to its development. John Dalton, the Quaker who expounded the atom theory, certainly did. So did Alex Wood, who trained many of the physicists who later took an active part at Los Alamos. These two are no more guilty than the plumber who installs a bath which is later used for murder. Baths, like knowledge, are good. But if a scientist takes part in work which he knows is intended for murder, then he is guilty even though the actual work he is doing is his ordinary work, say measuring the rate of diffusion of a gas. The plumber who installed a bath knowing that it was intended for a murderous purpose would be an accessory before the fact, even though he was doing nothing but his ordinary job.

To have left the argument there would have been tantamount to saying that all the scientists who took part knowingly in the atom bomb project (including Einstein, as Professor Bronowski correctly pointed out) were murderers. I will not say this, even with Hiroshima and Nagasaki still fresh in our memories. I believe that they have a terrible responsibility and that they made and are making a terrible mistake in supposing that armaments can prevent war. But that is what they do suppose, and so do the majority of our fellow-countrymen. We would do well to save our energy for convincing them that they are wrong, and to leave God to convict them of sin.

However, if I left any listeners under the impression that I was condoning the making of destructive weapons then indeed I deeply regret it. It is not easy to answer such questions without a moment's thought, and to "keep it light," which we had to try to do.

KATHLEEN LONSDALE.

121 Station Road,  
West Drayton, Mdix.

## "I HAVE SEEN FOR MYSELF"

Lt. Col. Read-Collins, late Press Attaché Gen. MacArthur's HQ, recently returned from China. Mon. December 1, 7.45 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Cnr. Albert & Cleveland Rds., Ilford (5 min. station). Chair: Cllr. G. Gaunt (Chairman S. Ilford Labour Party).

Sponsored by 50 individual members of PPU, For and SoF, religious and political organisations. "A New Approach to Korean Negotiations."

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## "Thou shalt not kill"

IT was with great regret that I saw the report in Peace News of a statement of a once kindly judge that there is no such commandment as "Thou shalt not kill." In order that young men who wish to practice the Christian ethic should be better informed in this subject than the 19-year-old objector so curiously instructed, I should be glad if you would print the following facts.

It is true that in the revised (Moffatt) translation of the Bible, the sixth commandment of the Mosaic Decalogue is rendered: **Thou Shalt Not Murder.** For the Christian, however, it must surely be Jesus's interpretation of the commandment that matters; and in Mark 10:19, when asked by a young man what he must do to inherit eternal life, Jesus replied: "You know the commands: Do not kill. Even in the revised version the translation is kill. And Tolstoy

## NOT JUSTICE, BUT MERCY

Not with red swords of justice, but with the green weeds  
Of mercy we shall find and touch each other.  
Not with the golden whips of hate, but with the open hand's  
Revealed compassion brother will greet brother.  
Justice, killed by a red-hot slogan, cannot live  
Without truth's braziers, now made black by hate.  
O, let us light the lamps again with mercy, and believe  
The love whose flames do not consume, whose fires illuminate.

JAMES KIRKUP

goes to the root of the matter by raising it above all creeds when he writes: "Thou shalt not kill . . . was inscribed in the human breast long before it was proclaimed from Sinai."

He who denies this fact is either dishonest or has succeeded in deadening his natural human instinct, not to mention his Christian conscience—perhaps the worst form of suicide or self-murder.

ESME WYNNE-TYSON.

Clarwyn,  
East Beach,  
Selsey, Sussex.

## Vienna Peace Congress

MR. A. J. MUSTE expresses admirably the doubts which many of us feel about the Vienna Peace Congress, but I regret that he was refused the invitation to attend. The Communist propaganda machine will prove to its own people just what it likes about the Congress whether pacifists attend and speak or not. If pacifists do not attend we must rely on biased reports, and an independent judgment on what Prof. Joliot-Curie's assurances amount to in practice will be impossible. Everyone, militarist and pacifist alike, is waiting and longing for a "truly fresh and genuine approach to peace." And while we wait and doubt the armaments pile up.

I have suggested to the British Sponsoring Committee that they should bring to the notice of the Congress the "War on Want" plan of the Association for World Peace, and that they should urge that a discussion on the possibility of joint action of East and West on these lines should be placed on the agenda. They have replied that this suggestion will be forwarded with a recommendation that it be seriously considered for inclusion in the final agenda. It seems to me more important to press similar positive suggestions, than to express our doubts about the Congress.

If any who read this are going to Vienna I would very much like to hear from them.

PHILIP TITCHMARSH.

41 Rawcliffe Lane,  
York.

## Mr. Attlee did not object

WE appreciate your report of the proceedings in the case of Kenneth Jones when he appeared before the London Appellate Tribunal. We should be grateful, however, if you would publish the following corrections of matters of fact.

The letter to the Prime Minister, to which reference is made, was not sent by the Secretary of the Commonwealth of World Citizens. There is no such person. The letter was sent by myself as Chairman of the Secretariat. Neither was the letter addressed to Mr. Churchill, but to his predecessor Mr. Attlee on March 1, 1951. This is of consequence, since it establishes that the position of the Commonwealth was fully explained to the Government more than eighteen months ago, and no objection was raised then or indeed at any time since.

Of more importance, your report speaks of the Commonwealth of World Citizens as a "movement" with "members." This is a misapprehension. The Commonwealth of World Citizens is a distinct people among the peoples of the world with its own citizenship. It has citizens now in fourteen countries, and is in process of formal constitution as an independent sovereign people serving all peoples. It has its own flag, and its official language is Esperanto.

The Commonwealth of World Citizens is the only pacifist people, having renounced war, and denied to itself the possession of armaments and armed forces. It hopes thus to serve not only to bring East and West together, but to unite all sections of mankind for their common welfare. Citizenship of the Commonwealth is open to anyone who accepts our principles and wishes to enter this people in a spirit of dedication.

HUGH J. SCHONFIELD.

Commonwealth of World Citizens,  
27 Red Lion Street, W.C.1.

(The Army Record Office has now notified Kenneth Jones that notice of recall for training has been cancelled—Ed. PN)

## The late Robert Entwistle

A correspondent writes:  
Your reference to Robert Entwistle will be appreciated by many readers. He may not have been widely known in the Peace Pledge Union, but many members will remember the publication "Values" which he launched and through which he—and others

## Dr. Barnardo's children "delighted with Endsleigh Cards"

A LITTLE while before Christmas each of the 1,500 children in Dr. Barnardo's Homes will receive one of Peace News' "Endsleigh Painting Cards" to colour.

They are a gift from one of our office's most loyal helpers, and in acknowledging them Barnardo's General Superintendent says: "These cards were most attractive last year, our children were delighted with them . . . the 'Carols of All Lands' will be especially nice."

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BLOCK LETTERS PLEASE

FROM .....

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who were seeking with him—tried to express the basic values without which no political or other activity could be of much use, and also to relate those values to the solution of current problems.

Robert Entwistle went on to find for himself only a deeply religious answer in the absence of which a bad economy and a strained life could lead only to war. He saw salvation not in masses or movements but in sound personal relationships, an absolute refusal of violence and an ultimate Christian anarchy.

His life was based on a great faith, increasingly revealed to his friends and increasingly sustaining him as he approached his end without any fear. He was a brave and calm man; and he has left an equally brave and calm wife with whom the affection of many friends will rest.

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## Notes for your Diary

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

### Friday, November 28

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho.; public mtg.; Rev. Clifford Macquaire on his recent visit to Russia; For.  
SOUTHPORT: 8.15 p.m. Foresters Hall, Wright St.; AGM, Stockport Branch L.P.F. speaker: Cllr. John McAloon (Preston); all welcome.

### Saturday November 29

LONDON, NW6: 3-6 p.m. 35 Calcutt Rd.; Christmas Bazaar and Jumble Sale; Willesden PPU.  
LONDON, WC1: 3-5.30 p.m. Friends' Internat. Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq.; Dr. Mildred Creak on "Everyday Problems of Ordinary Children"; PPU Education Commission; for tea (6d.) please notify Jemima Burgess, 9 West St., Hertford by Nov. 22.  
SHEFFIELD: 3 p.m. Button Lane Friends Mtg Ho.; Christmas Fair; PPU.  
WYTHENSHAW: 8 p.m. Wythenshawe Rd.; Talk on Africa by Fred Barton, followed by N.W. Area business mtg. and reports; 1s. 6d.; PPU.

### Monday, December 1

ILFORD: 7.45 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho.; Cnr. Albert & Cleveland Rds.; Lt. Col. Read-Collins—"I have seen for myself"; indiv. sponsors incl. PPU, For and SoF.  
HAMPSHIRE: 8 p.m. 12 Downside Cres.; near Beilize Park Tube); Mr. S. Drake, Christian Community and Peace"; For.  
MANCHESTER: 7 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho., Mount St.; public mtg.; Rev. Clifford Macquaire—"Russia Today"; Chair: Geo. Sutherland; For.  
NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE: 7.30 p.m. Beckett House, Lowline Bow; "African People"; speaker from College African Soc.; PPU.

### Tuesday, December 2

BIRMINGHAM: 7 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho., Bull St.; Bill Skinner—"With IVSP in India"; IVSP.  
LEEDS: 7.30 p.m. Carlton Hill Mtg. Ho.; Jean Inebnit of Leeds University—"The Christian Alternative to War"; all welcome; PPU.  
WOLINGHAM: 7.30 p.m. Baptist School Hall, Milton Rd.; public mtg.; Hugh Faulkner—"Seeing for myself in Russia"; For.

### Wednesday, December 3

DULWICH: 7.30 p.m. Emmanuel Cong. Ch. Hall, Barry Rd.; public mtg.; Hugh Faulkner—"Seeing for myself in Russia"; supported by For.  
HORNSEY: 8 p.m. Small Town Hall; Report-back meeting on Berlin Conference; Stuart Morris, Monica Whately, Hugh Schonfield; Hornsey Cttee. for Peaceful Solution of German Problem.  
KENSINGTON: 8 p.m. 5 Horbury Cres.; George Plume on "The Cause of War"; PPU.  
LONDON, NW1: Friends House, Euston Rd. 7.30 p.m.; public mtg. "It can be Peace"; James Hudson, MP., John Ferguson, John Kay, Reginald Reynolds; Chair: Sybil Morrison; SoF, For, PPU.

### Thursday, December 4

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd.; topical talk by Charles Telford; PPU.  
LONDON, WC2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open air mtg.; Sybil Morrison and Robert Horniman; PPU.  
LONDON, WC1: 7.30 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St.; Lt. Col. Read-Collins on China; PPU.

### Friday, December 5

LONDON: 7.45 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho., Beaumont Fee; Jean Inebnit—"An International Construction Corps"; For-IVSP.  
LONDON, WC2: 1.30 p.m. St. Martin-in-the-Fields; Intercession Service for Peace; the Rev. Clifford Macquaire; APP, For, PPU.  
ST. ALBANS: 8 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho., Upper Lattimore Rd.; John Hoyland on "Gandhi and Today"; For.

### Saturday, December 6

CANTERBURY: 6.30 p.m. Congregational Ch.; public mtg.; Hugh Faulkner—"Seeing for myself in Russia"; For.  
HUDDERSFIELD: 3 p.m. 19 John William St.; Bring and Buy Sale; tea 4/30, followed by meeting; PPU.  
RUGBY: 3 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho., Regent Pl.; public mtg.; Frank Dawtry—"Pacifist ideas applied to Social Problems"; PPU and For.

### TOTTENHAM: 4 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho., 594 High Rd.; PPU N. London Region Christmas Social and Bazaar, opened by J. Allen Skinner, Editor, PN; Santa Claus, film show, music, etc.; admission by gift to be sold for funds; proceeds to PN and PPU.

UXBRIDGE: Friends' Mtg. Ho., Belmont Rd.; Alan Hurd on "Social Responsibility of the Scientist"; CO Fellowship.

### Sunday, December 7

ACCRINGTON: 2.45 p.m. Labour Hall, Blackburn Rd.; quarterly mtg. of NW Area Group, L.P.F.  
CROYDON: 3 p.m. 6 Park Hill Rise; J. Allen Skinner, Editor, PN, on "The Pacifist Imperative"; PPU Surrey Area.

### Monday, December 8

COVENTRY: 7.30 p.m. 87 Stoney Stanton Rd.; Talk by Mr. T. Holloway; PPU.  
SHEFFIELD: 7.30 p.m. Church Ho., St. James St.; Rev. A. Jowett BA—"World Council of Churches"; PPU.  
TAUNTON: 7.15 p.m. Municipal Hall, Corp. St.; public mtg.; Hugh Faulkner on "Seeing for myself in Russia"; For.

### Tuesday, December 9

BARNSTAPLE: 7 or 7.30 p.m. Guildhall; public mtg.; Hugh Faulkner—"Seeing for myself in the Soviet Union"; For.  
LOUGHTON: 8 p.m. Lincoln Hall, High Rd.; public mtg.; Rev. Clifford Macquaire on "A Pacifist Looks at Russia"; PPU and For.

### Thursday, December 11

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd.; talk on Brahms by Charles Dingle, with illustrations; PPU.  
LONDON, WC2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open air mtg.; Sybil Morrison and Robert Horniman; PPU.  
LONDON, WC1: 7 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho. 6 Endsleigh St. Discussion on future work - Non-Violence Commission PPU.

### Saturday, December 13

GLOUCESTER: Barton St. Unitarian Chapel (opp. main Co-op. bldg.); 5.30 tea; 6.30 Whist Drive and Social Evng.; nominal prizes and charges; please bring rummage for sale for PPU and PN funds; PPU.

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LATEST TIME for copy: Monday morning before publication.

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Maximum length 60 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

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### MEETINGS

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HAMPSTEAD Town Hall. The Dangers of German Rearmament. Tuesday Dec. 9. 8 p.m. A. W. Lipmann-Kessel, FRCS, MBE, MC, J. Elton, Sec. British Cttee for the Peaceful Solution of German Problem, Org Hampstead Peace Council. Adm. 6d.

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ROYAL ALBERT HALL. Concert by Soviet artists visiting Britain. Raiten, Gilels, Bezrodny, Kabalevsky, Guseinikova, Yerochin. 7.30 Tues. Dec. 9. Tickets 2s. 6d., 3s., 6d., 7s., 10s., 12s., 15s. 6d. from Box Office, Royal Albert Hall (KEN. 8212); Agents. Presented by Ed. Cttee. British-Soviet Friendship Society.

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### EDUCATIONAL

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### LITERATURE, &c.

QUAKERISM Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free or application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Road London.

"THE NON-THEOLOGICAL Foundations of Christian Pacifism" by Wallace Hancock, 3d. (postage 1½d.) from Movement for a Pacifist Church, 8 Barclay Oval, Woodford Wells, Essex.

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# ONE THING YOU CANNOT DO FROM STRENGTH: NEGOTIATE

By MARY WILLIS

A SMALL but keenly interested audience heard the Duke of Bedford and Stuart Morris speak on "Britain—Bridge or Battlefield?" at a Peace Pledge Union meeting at Bermondsey last Friday.

Stuart Morris said that although the people all over the world desired peace, the attitude of the governments was based on the fact that in the last resort they would go to war, in other words they were pursuing

one thing you cannot do is to negotiate, because negotiation implies that you do not use strength, you use reasonableness, the policy of mediation, negotiation."

The Times, in a recent leading article, had pointed out that in rearming Germany and building bases under the North Atlantic Treaty we might over-run the point at which negotiation was possible.

Stuart Morris said that the best solution of the German problem was for the country to be permanently disarmed and permanently neutral.

## Funds for World Development

He suggested that if she accepted disarmament she would be asked to pay into an international fund for world development the sum that she saved on arms. This would prevent her having an undue advantage in the world's markets, and it should be understood that as we disarmed, we would do the same.

The Duke of Bedford appealed for greater efforts to reach an understanding with Russia.

"We must not be horrified by the fact that Communist philosophers have sometimes said it is right to do evil that good may come," he said. "To do so is certainly one of the curses of the present world, but Communists have not the monopoly of this. Is not the use of atomic and napalm bombs another example of it?"

## National Service good for poachers!

It is sometimes said that a period in the Army is very good for a young man's character. I know a certain young fellow who was a persistent poacher when he was called up for the Army two years ago. He has recently returned from the Army and is now a very much better poacher, because of the training he received in rifle-shooting.

—The Duke of Bedford at Bermondsey, 21.11.1952.

the politics of the battlefield, which made it impossible to pursue the politics of bridge-building.

The phrase "Negotiating from strength" was a contradiction in terms. "You can do lots of things if you are strong," he said, "you can bully, you can dictate, but

## BEHIND THE NEWS

(Continued from page two)

wards the sense of human equality manifesting itself throughout the African continent that would make for true partnership in the mixed communities instead of the pseudo-partnership we so often hear vaguely expounded, and which is so obviously a euphemism for keeping things as nearly as possible as they are at present.

His single mention of the movement of non-violent resistance against the resented laws of racial discrimination, that has so far resulted in 7,500 court sentences for black people, was a reference to a comment of the President-General of the Bantu National Congress who had said that "the Bantu chiefs of Natal, more than 200, had warned their people against the passive resistance movement on the ground that the Indians were using the Bantu people as a political pawn." The Professor did not say whether in his view the passive resistance movement has no more significance than this; and surely in a lecture under this title this has some importance.

The immediate practical proposals he had to offer were that there should be a limited number of Bantu members of Parliament working in conjunction with the European members who now represent them, one Indian member working with a sympathetic European, and one or two "coloured" members.

We have devoted some space to the character of this lecture, because we take it for granted that Professor Haarhoff, who is attached to the Witwatersrand University, represents the best of white South African opinion; and that being so one can only regard with the profoundest pessimism the prospects in South Africa during the next decade.

## ABOLISH MASS DESTRUCTION WEAPONS

— Int. Alliance of Women

AMONG the resolutions adopted at the Sixteenth Congress of the International Alliance of Women held recently in Naples, and attended by delegates from thirty-five countries, were three relating to peace.

The first protested against all means of mass destruction which threaten the civil population, and called for the abolition of these forms of warfare, with effective international control.

The second recommended all affiliated societies to make a more intensive study of the Charter and Constitution of UNO, and of the ILO and the International Court of Justice.

The third urged the importance of Art. III of the Declaration of Human Rights—"Every individual has the right to life, to liberty, to security of person," and called on all affiliated societies to seek to spread sympathy and understanding among all human beings, and to press their own governments to pass laws against discrimination based on race, colour or creed.

The second and third resolutions were brought forward by the Peace Commission of the Alliance.

# The Cosh and its Cause

An appeal to shopkeepers to refrain from selling toy facsimiles of lethal weapons was made yesterday by the National Chamber of Trade. It said the Chamber fully supported the growing feelings of unrest and apprehension caused by the tendencies developed in the minds and actions of young persons into whose hands such goods found their way, and believed it to be in the interest of the community that the manufacture of such weapons should be voluntarily discontinued.

—The Times, November 6, 1952.

CONSIDERABLE indignation has been aroused by the information, widely publicised in the Press, that toy manufacturers are producing, and shops retailing, model facsimiles of the cosh, knuckleduster and truncheon. An appeal has been made by the National Chamber of Trade to refrain from selling "toy facsimiles of lethal weapons."

"Lethal weapons" is a wide term; it would include, presumably, rifles, bayonets, tanks, guns, pistols, warships, submarines, fighting aeroplanes and bombs, all of which are reproduced as toys.

Children have played with such things for many years without parental or public protest, and if games with these toys have turned them into regular soldiers, sailors, or airmen, it is of course, equally possible to argue that playing with the weapons of thuggery will turn them into thugs.

If this fear is the reason for the outcry it is well to examine it with some care. If toys are to be looked upon as some form of indoctrination, then it is natural for there to be a revulsion against symbols of personal assault for private gain, or animosity; those who press the buttons which release bombs, or who plunge bayonets into

shrinking flesh, dare not think in personal terms, and parents who watch their children playing with toys of this nature do not conjure in their minds a picture of them engaged as adults in real warfare.

In the same way, they probably laugh, even though it may be ruefully, if their child, crouching behind a wall, springs out with shouts of "put 'em up". It is just a game, and has been played ever since Dick Turpin and the Wild Western Cowboy became the heroes of glamorous violence.

But it is understandable that the public conscience should be shocked at the hideous, mutilating violence symbolised by the cosh and the knuckleduster, by the snaking menace of a hidden attacker, waiting stealthily, to strike down some unsuspecting and innocent passer-by.

So long as killing is legalised its reality can be conveniently forgotten, and that is the true reason for the use of the phrase "dying for ones country", instead of "killing for ones country." Yet these are two sides of the same medal, and there cannot be one without the other.

It is perhaps significant that along with the toy cosh and knuckleduster, is the policeman's truncheon, which in this country would be looked upon as the symbol of defence; but its description leads to as much misgiving as the description of the cosh; both are heavily weighted and can with one stroke deal a death blow.

It appears that, on the whole, people do not wish their children to play with such things as though they were part of everyday life; a great upsurge of indignation is coming very near to boiling over, but if children are to play with models of lethal weapons at all, then it is quite illogical to worry about one particular weapon more than another.

The main objection lies in the individual nature of a cosh attack and the fact that the weapon strikes ruthlessly but silently; yet Commandos were taught just this kind of method of attack and much has been written about it. Those who want to learn it need not go to toys to do so. It is most unlikely that these crimes are due to indoctrination through the toys played with in childhood; it is much more likely that they are due to training and participation in wars where respect for the lives of innocent human beings does not exist.

If there were no soldiers, tanks or bombs, there would be no toys in facsimile; if there were no thugs there would be no toy coshes; these are the symptoms, not the disease.

Wars have not occurred because children played with toy weapons; crimes of violence are not the result of playing with coshes. This is not to say that it might not be a good idea to get rid of them all, but it is to say that the real causes are lost sight of in the present agitation. If men are taught to kill, and to kill easily, it ceases to be a matter of conscience and dread.

Let us get rid of the cause, and the symptoms will take care of themselves.

## QUAKER PEACEMAKING

Through a chain of international centres in such focal points as London, Paris, Geneva, Delhi and Calcutta, Friends try to put into practice their conviction that all men are the children of one Father, and that our common humanity must become a more potent influence than our racial, credal or national differences. And just as in Quaker relief work we seek to heal the ravages of war, no matter who the victims may be, so in our international centres we seek to remove the causes of the strife and tension which threaten the peace of the world today.

Inquiries about this work, or donations for its support, will be welcomed. They should be addressed to the Friends Service Council, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1; and it will help us if you mark your communications "52 PN".

# GERMANY: FOUR POWER NEGOTIATIONS URGENT

The following is the text of the resolution adopted by the Conference on the Peaceful Solution of the German Problem which met in Berlin from Nov. 8 to 10.

In his report of the Conference in pointed out that the resolution contains continued disarmament of Germany, and for members of the conference felt bound to abstain from voting.

THE International Conference for the Peaceful Solution of the German Problem which met in Berlin from November 8 to 10, set itself the task of examining if a peaceful solution of the German problem was a practical possibility and if, with goodwill on all sides, people of the most varied political and philosophical opinions, could reach understanding upon the methods and ways of turning these peaceful possibilities into practice.

The Conference brought together men and women from Italy, Switzerland, France, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, Great Britain, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Austria, as well as from all parts and sectors of Germany, and from Berlin, the German capital.

Representatives of the sciences, from the ranks of the workers, from industry, peasants and craftsmen, Christians and Marxists, Liberals and Conservatives, Democrats, and non-party people, have come together and have agreed that it is possible to find a peaceful solution to the German problem and at the same time to ensure the security of Europe.

The Conference has carefully considered the treaties of Bonn and Paris. As a result of its considerations the Conference concludes that these treaties mean the political and military integration of the German Federal Republic in the camp of the Western powers.

The treaties will inevitably lead to a further strengthening of the arms race, to a deepening of the partitioning of Germany, and the resultant possibility of German civil war, and to an increase in international tension. We are therefore thoroughly convinced that the ratification of these treaties would make a peaceful solution of the German problem extremely difficult, if not completely impossible.

The partitioning of Germany has serious economic consequences both for Germany and for other countries and increases the danger of war.

We are further convinced that the ratification of these treaties would delay and place obstacles in the way of nations on their path towards an understanding on peaceful co-operation.

We regard it as the task of a sensible policy, which pays regard to the interests of the nations, to avoid these great dangers in order not to imperil peace even more. Also, forces and persons who have already once played a fateful role for Germany and the world must not be allowed to regain influence.

For this reason the treaties must not be allowed to be finally ratified and where ratified they must be denounced.

All our efforts must be devoted towards finding ways to guarantee a peaceful solution of the German problem.

The Four Powers, meeting after the war in Potsdam, jointly took over the responsibility of ensuring the peaceful development of a democratic and united Germany, a Germany capable of bringing its important contribution to general disarmament. Moreover, the UN Charter expressly entrusts this common responsibility to the Four Powers.

For this reason the efforts to obtain a Four-Power Conference must be pursued with great earnestness, in order to achieve a Peace Treaty which will restore unity and sovereign independence to the German people, and which will simultaneously provide a guarantee of security for the neighbouring states of Germany.

Four Power negotiations on the speedy conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany are the only correct way to solve the tension between the East and the West at the most dangerous point in Europe.

It is our agreed opinion that the Four Powers must above all fulfil the urgent request of the German people and of the neighbouring nations that Germany should not again participate in coalitions and military alliances, and that after the conclusion of the peace treaty, no foreign powers should maintain military bases on German territory.

After the peace treaty comes into force all occupation forces must be withdrawn from Germany as quickly as possible.

Finally, the development of democracy in Germany must be guarded by the prohibition of all militarist and neo-Hitlerian propaganda.

The German people have the right to take part in the negotiations on the peace treaty which is to be concluded with them.

We welcome the fact that steps have already been taken to bring about negotiations between Germans, between the German Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic, in order to realise as rapidly as possible this undoubted right of the German people.

It is urgently to be desired that the inter-German negotiations should make such progress that an authorised mixed or general commission should take part in the preparation of a peace treaty.

In addition it is necessary that the Four Powers and the Germans themselves should make the earliest possible preparations for general free secret elections in Germany with the aim of establishing an all-German government which would be empowered to conclude the peace treaty.

Within the framework of this Conference the delegates of West and East Germany have issued a joint declaration of the greatest practical and political scope. The Conference welcomes this event as a proof of the possibility of re-uniting Germany for peaceful purposes.

The Conference has not reached full agreement on some other questions. It believes, however, that the realisation of the proposals made above would produce in a short time a sound and peaceful development of Germany and would guarantee the security of her neighbours.

We will use our best efforts in our countries and amongst our peoples, with our governments and with our Parliaments, in order that in this way the threatening danger of a new world war may be averted, that the people of Europe may be released from their fear of war, and that the peaceful solution of the German problem may be attained.

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